

# OLD ORAIBI

A STUDY OF THE HOPI INDIANS OF THIRD MESA

**MISCHA TITIEV** 

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used alternative, ivusingwa (my sleeping partner). When there are children in the family teknonymy is fairly common on the part of either parent, but this practice is rapidly fading out in favor of American names. Hopi personal names are not applied to each other by a married couple.

In former times the custom of matrilocal residence was probably universally observed with the possible exception of inter-mesa marriages where a wife went to live in her husband's village. More recently, all brides of Moenkopi men have

gone there to live.

Matrilocal residence in the old days meant that a groom moved into his wife's house and thus became a member of her household group. Under present conditions there is an increasing tendency for young couples to build houses for themselves. In such cases the heavier work of cutting and hauling stones and beams is done by the husband while such light tasks as plastering and thatching are performed by the wife. Nevertheless, all houses belong to women and are transmitted only to female heirs. Similarly, all household utensils belong to the women, although in some instances the men help to fashion them. On the other hand, men own such distinctively masculine objects as farming tools and harness.

In labor there is a marked sex dichotomy. Generally speaking, women fetch water, chop wood, prepare meals, tend the children, wash clothes, keep the house in repair, make plaques or baskets, and cultivate small garden patches which are situated near springs. The men do the farming, herd sheep, haul wood, weave blankets, rugs and wearing apparel, and make moccasins.

Since all land, theoretically, is held by clans, it is felt, in this matrilineal society, to be the property of women. Similarly, all crops raised by married men belong to the wives whose land they cultivate. Likewise, although the Hopi women never herd sheep, they may inherit or acquire shares in flocks which the men look after.

Women play relatively minor parts in the religious life of the village, but they participate by washing and dressing the husband's hair on all ceremonial occasions and by bringing food to Katcina dancers at the noon rest period. During many observances the women are required to prepare special foods which must be brought to

4 Compare Beaglehole, E., and P., 1935, p. 45.

the kiva in prescribed vessels at definite times, and the sacred cornmeal which is used in all rituals must be ground by women. Wives also share in the excitement of a dance day by keeping open house for friends and relatives and dressing themselves and their children in holiday attire.

There is a four-day tabu on sexual relations between husband and wife for all common participants in ceremonies, and a sixteen-day tabu for officers. Sex activities are generally lapsed during menstruation but may be resumed without special ritual at the conclusion of the period. For a primitive people the Hopi show an exceptional disregard for "contagion" and have no fear of menstrual blood. No tabus are imposed on menstruating women, who may even participate at will in the dances of women's societies.<sup>4</sup>

It is thought best to abstain from sexual activity during pregnancy, and a woman who bears children annually is likened to a beast. Partly to prevent such occurrences, and partly for other reasons, there is a ban on sexual intercourse for forty days after the birth of a child.<sup>5</sup> During this period the husband moves out of the house and sleeps in his kiva. Over-frequent child-bearing is checked in rare cases by theuse of an emmenagogue administered by medicine men, but more commonly women suffer many miscarriages due to utter disregard for pre-natal care and to the continuance of difficult physical tasks.

The nature of the bond between husband and wife varies widely with the characters of the individuals concerned. Some couples are devoted and loval, others quarrelsome and jealous. Very often one finds a strange brusqueness even on the part of happily married men towards their wives. Sometimes, they will leave the house abruptly in the morning without a word regarding their plans for the day. Again, although they may take their wives with them to view a dance at another village, they will rarely make visits together, and they invariably sit apart while the dance is in progress. Except in unusual cases where unanimity of opinion is essential, husband and wife are free to follow individual notions to such an extent that there are many instances of a Hopi turning Christian while the mate remains true to the native belief.6 Rarely does a man take it on himself to make a decision for his wife or vice versa.

<sup>6</sup> It must not be thought that conversion to Christianity is taken lightly. The history of Oraibi shows that such a step is very seriously regarded.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> On Second Mesa, the tabu is said to last twenty-five days. Compare Beaglehole, E., and P., 1935, p. 38.

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hristianity s that such On the whole, the marriage situation is in coing with the general Hopi emphasis on individual freedom. There is no compulsion in the coolee of a mate, and there is no restriction on divorce. When a separation takes place the objects owned by the couple are divided along the lines of ownership discussed above. Young children invariably remain with the mother, but older differen may follow either parent.

In analyzing the husband-wife reciprocal it is retiremely important to consider their relative positions in the household. The man is an outsider whose warmest ties, apart from wife and children, are with his own household. Still, he must work his wife's land, help build her house, and in many ways contribute to the support of her entire household. In direct contrast the wife, at marriage, suffers no severance of kin and home ties, and every improvement in her condition is a gain for her household and clan. Small wonder, then, that every girl is expected to marry, and that her brothers should be especially active in guiding her conduct to prevent divorce.

Nevertheless, as our discussion of "Courtship, Marriage, and Divorce" will demonstrate, divorce is of frequent occurrence. Its effect is minimized through the mechanism of the household which is so ordered that it takes up the shocks that result from the breakdown of individual families. So secure and firmly embedded is the position of a woman in her household group, that a change of husband has little or no effect on the larger unit.

## FATHER $\longleftrightarrow$ SON<sup>8</sup> $ina'a \longleftrightarrow iti'i$

(ina'a is applied to: Father, father's brother, father's sister's son, mother's father's brother's son, mother's father's sister's son, all men belonging to the father's clan, all sons of an ikya'a, all husbands of an ingu'u.)

(iti'i is applied to: Son, daughter, brother's children [male speaking], children of men in own

<sup>7</sup> The attraction a man feels for his own household is clearly evident on feast days. Everywhere one sees men going to dine with their mothers and sisters while their wives remain at home. Racing customs also show how adherence to clan and household ties tends to loosen the marital bond. When races are held by clans, husbands and wives affiliate themselves solely with their own groups.

<sup>8</sup> It is impossible in every instance to differentiate between the various personages to whom a single term is applied. Accordingly, the material on reciprocal behavior clan [male speaking], children of sister's sons [male speaking], children of women of own clan [female speaking], sister's children [female speaking].)

A Hopi father has no special duties of any sort at the time of a son's birth. He bestows no gifts, makes no offerings, and goes through no ceremony of any kind. He is not allowed to be in the room when the child is born, and he spends very little time at home for the first forty days of the baby's life. Of course he kills a sheep and provides food for the son's naming feast on the twentieth day following his birth, but on the whole a father's greatest interest in his son does not manifest itself until the child is nearly of age to enter the Katcina cult.

In choosing ceremonial parents, a father consults his wife, and between them they decide on the man they consider most fit to aid their son in later life. Only the real father has a voice in picking his son's ceremonial father. This is also true in the event that a child's illness warrants his being given in adoption to a doctor father.

While a son is still a baby all Katcina secrets are carefully guarded from him, and whenever a father is dancing as a Katcina he will conceal his identity from the child but will manage to bring him various gifts as if they were sent by the gods. When the proper time comes for the boy to go through the Katcina initiation, both his ceremonial father and his real father make him gourd rattles and bows and arrows. It sometimes happens that a boy's own father is acting as the Katcina who whips initiates, but in such cases the father must show no partiality for his son.

Sex dichotomy in labor tends to make the bond between father and son very close, as the greater part of a boy's instruction in farming and herding is received from his father. Almost as soon as a boy can walk he begins to accompany his father into the fields or to the sheep corral. Here, at first, he spends most of his time in play, but as he grows older the father begins to give him

has been presented here from a general point of view for each degree of relationship. Wherever special cases require a distinction as, let us say, between one type of father and another, we shall call attention to the fact in our discussion.

<sup>9</sup> For a boy a ceremonial father is chosen and this man's sister, or some other woman from his clan, serves as the ceremonial mother. For a girl the ceremonial mother is first chosen and her brother, or some man from her clan, acts as the girl's ceremonial father.

definite lessons in husbandry and will often spend part of the noon rest period in what may be called moral teachings. A father tries to impress on his son the need of being thrifty, energetic, and unafraid of inclement weather.

From the time of his Katcina initiation (which took place at ten to twelve years of age in former times, but which now takes place between the ages of seven and ten), until marriage removes him to another sphere of activities, a boy is most intimate with his father. During this period a father teaches his son how to dance and takes great pride in the lad's early Katcina performances; he sets aside a few head of sheep from his flock as the special property of his son; and he allows the boy to try his own hand in the management of a small plot of land. Gradually, as decreasing vigor forces the father to do less and less active work the son takes on himself increasingly greater burdens, but Hopi fathers must be aged and feeble indeed before they begin to think of retiring.

One outstanding feature of the father-son reciprocal is the amount of mutual consideration they show for each other's welfare. Rarely does a father exercise his right of punishing a son, and I have often seen a man, cut to the quick by his son's misbehavior, remain calm without a show of exasperation. Even when the occasion absolutely demands that a father take disciplinary action, he will strive hard "not to hurt the little boy's feelings." On the other hand, in the event that some catastrophe such as blindness overtakes the father, a son will often delay his marriage in order that he may not deprive the household of his services. This is especially true if the father lacks married daughters.

When a son is contemplating marriage the father may give advice and pass judgment on the girl's qualifications, but his opinion is by no means final. At the time of a son's wedding the father will make him a special pair of moccasins and will generally give him as his portion about a third of his flock and a good share of his other property.

At death a man is buried by a son if one is available. For performing this office a son gets a somewhat better preference or a larger share of the father's property. Whether or not the dying man expresses a wish respecting his burier, or the division of the inheritance, the sons usually come to a peaceful agreement in such matters.

Although the status of classificatory fathers is not limited merely to an identity of terminology, it would be idle to expect that they should bestow as much love and attention on a "son" as does the true father. As a rule they are friendly, often bring gifts, and sometimes volunteer instruction. With the father's brother, especially, a boy is apt to develop close ties, but there are instances where other sociological fathers come to be preferred.

In striking contrast to the affection and tenderness of true fathers is the case of a man who took every possible advantage of his nine year old step-son. Although this man had so many partners that he was called upon to tend their joint flock of sheep only about once a week, he would keep the lad out of school, if his herding turn fell on a weekday, in order that he might remain idle while the boy went out to herd. A climax came when the herding day fell on a Saturday on which a neighboring village was giving an interesting dance. Nearly the entire population of Oraibi, including the step-father, planned to see the dance, and it was really pathetic to see the little fellow, smiling and waving cheerfully to the dance-bound groups that passed him. Every one commented on such disgraceful behavior towards a step-son, but there was nothing that could be done about it.

Not all step-fathers behave so as to be regarded with aversion. When a young man named Luke, who was destined soon to die of tuberculosis, was too sick to sow beans at Powamu, he preferred to ask his step-father to do the planting for him, although his true father was living and they were on the best of terms with each other. This may have been due to the fact that Luke's own father had divorced his mother and was married to another woman and living in a different household. Actually, when Luke died a short time later, he was buried by his real father.

Finally, in a classificatory system, where generation lines may be completely disregarded, it

<sup>10</sup> The rarity of punishment which is bestowed on children by their parents is due partly to the fact that the mother's brother is the acknowledged disciplinarian of the family, and partly to the attitude that even young

children's individuality must not be curbed. Thus when a child's whims oppose the father's judgment, the parent uses no coercion whatever, merely saying, "It's up to him."

tests being struck in succession. Along the edge of of the long sides of the relic there runs a series affittle lines which were not interpreted; and long the other edge there is a succession of conventional cloud and rain symbols to indicate that Matcito's lifetime there was always plenty of The pictures on the other surface of the stone tell a connected story (see fig. 4). A double rectangle in the center is supposed to represent the Oraibi domain. About this are grouped six figures thich depict the Soyal officers. Reading from the bottom in a counterclockwise circuit, they refer m the Village, Pikyas, Parrot, Tobacco, Crier, nd War chiefs. Each figure stands with the left hand across the chest and the right extended downwards to cover the genitalia. This posture is said to indicate that the chiefs are claiming the land enclosed within the central rectangles. Along the edge representing the east, there is a line of small scratches, interspersed with occasional circles or crosses, which depicts the proper Hopi path that the chiefs are supposed to travel. The War chief brings up the rear to make sure that no one turns aside from the correct road.

At each Soyal celebration the sacred stone is brought from its repository, the officers examine it closely and then reaffirm their rights to hold office and their claims to the land. After this comes the Monglavaiyi (Chiefs' Talk), at which the Village chief's speech is echoed by the other leaders. Ordinarily, the event occurs early on the morning of the closing day of the Soyal, and the speech tells the populace of the prayers made during the recently-concluded rites and ends with a prayer for good crops and long lives.15 Whether or not such meetings may rightly be called political may be a matter of opinion, but the intimate connection of pueblo leadership with land control is clearly demonstrated. It is from this viewpoint that we shall now approach the question of Hopi government.

In the matter of land ownership, as with every important aspect of their culture, the Hopi "explain" the existing state of affairs by referring to their mythology. A composite summary of several myths is needed for an understanding of the

connection between the authority of the chiefs and their claims to the land.

For some time prior to their Emergence from the Underworld, people had been hearing footsteps above them, but when they reached the surface of the earth it was cold and dark, and nothing could be seen. In due time they noticed a distant light and sent a messenger who returned with the welcome news that he had discovered "a field in which corn, watermelons, beans, etc., were planted. All around this field a fire was burning . . . by which the ground was kept warm so that the plants could grow."16 Nearby the messenger found a man whose handsome appearance contrasted strangely with the grotesque death's head mask that stood by his side. At once the messenger realized that "it was Skeleton (Masauwuu) whom they had heard walking about from the other world."17 The deity proved kindly disposed, fed the courier and sent him to fetch all his companions. Here they built a large fire, warmed themselves, and "Skeleton gave them roasting ears, and watermelons, melons, squashes, etc., and they ate and refreshed themselves. Some of the plants were very small yet, others still larger, so that they always had food."18

In time the people left Masau'u and set out on the wanderings that were ultimately to bring them to their present settlements. For a while the Bear people settled at Chimopovy but "they all had heard that Skeleton was living where Oraibi now is, and so they all traveled on towards Oraibi."19 The Bear clan leader, Matcito, asked Masau'u to give him some land and to be the chief of his people, but "Skeleton replied, 'No, I shall not be chief, You shall be chief here. . . . I shall give you a piece of land and then you live here.' "20 Hereupon he stepped off a large tract of land which he allotted to Matcito. Soon other clans began to arrive, each seeking permission to dwell at Oraibi and each offering in exchange to perform a beneficial ceremony for Matcito. If the trial performance proved pleasing to the chief he would say, "'Very well, you participate in our cult and help us with the ceremonies,' and then he would give them their fields according to the way they came. And that way their fields were all distributed."21

Thus do we find the myths "explaining" how present conditions arose, for at Oraibi the leader of the Bear clan is the Village chief and the theoretical owner of all the village lands, and all the other clans hold land only on condition of good behavior and the proper observance of ceremonies.<sup>22</sup> For himself the Bear leader was said

Matcito seeks out Oraibi only after quarreling with his

brother at Chimopovy, Hargrave, 1932, p. 3. In First Mesa legends the Bear chief overthrew Masau'u

and thus won the land. Parsons, 1936b, p. 814.

<sup>20</sup> Voth, 1905b, p. 23.

<sup>21</sup> Voth, 1905b, p. 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> One of the present sources of contention between

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> See Colton, H. S., 1934, p. 22; and Parsons, 1933, p. 55.

<sup>16</sup> Voth, 1905b, p. 12.

<sup>17</sup> Voth, 1905b, p. 12.

<sup>18</sup> Voth, 1905b, p. 13. Other versions ascribe the origin of plants to various deities or leaders, but black corn and squash always belong to Masau'u.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Voth, 1905b, p. 23. In other renditions of this story

to have selected a large tract of land southwest of the village, traversed by the Oraibi wash, which was so shallow in those days that its flood waters were a great boon to the nearby fields. (See fig. 5, plot marked Bear.) The western limit of his holdings was marked with a boundary stone aided him in the performance of the Soval comony, and to have enough left over to reward other officers and men who participated in a rite.<sup>24</sup>

Just west of the chief's holdings is another plot given over to the Patki clan. When the

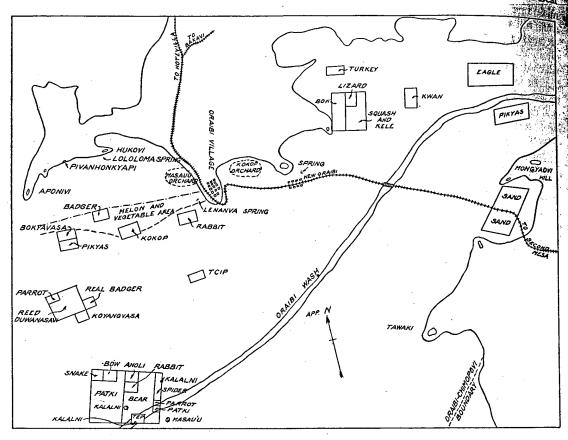


Fig. 5. Oraibi land holdings.

(kalalni owa) on which a Bear claw was carved. A similar stone, marked with the head of Masau'u, commemorated that deity's original claim to the entire domain,<sup>23</sup> and boundaries and shrines (pahoki) were erected at the south and northeast corners. So great a piece of land was reserved for the Village chief that he was able to allot some of it to the War chief (Kaletaka) who

Katcina on great ceremonial occasions, the Patki head man plays the part of the Aholi, second in importance.<sup>25</sup> Together they make the rounds of the village on the morning of the Bean dance during Powamu, and Aholi opens the main cistern of the village. It is for this service, as well as for his part in the Soyal, his function as Sun Watcher,

chief or his delegate impersonates the Eototo

Old and New Orabi is that when the latter lapsed their ceremonies they did not give up their lands.

<sup>28</sup> Compare Parsons, 1936b, p. 390, footnote 1, p. 637. <sup>24</sup> These special plots of ground are supposed to be held by Soyal officers only during their terms of active service. Disputes often arise when retiring officers refuse to cede their lands to their successors. Compare Parsons, 1939, p. 863, and consult "The Pikyas-Patki Conflict" in Part Three.

<sup>26</sup> See Voth, 1901, pp. 110-115.

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ownership of the Gray Flute ceremony the Patki leader gets so huge a share of land.26 from the lands allotted to the Patki clan, de relividual who impersonates the Aholi Katthe special plot marked Aholi in the diwest corner of the Bear holdings. Others to the Village chief's land are the Greasewood clan, from which is chosen the important chief; the Rabbit (Tap) clan, which suphies the Tobacco chief; and the Spider (Kokclan, which helps with the Soyal and conrols such important ceremonies as the Blue Flute, Antelope, and Momtcit.27 The Parrot (Kyac) clan, too has a piece of the chief's land because it famishes one of the main Soyal officers; and the mall Patki plot just south of the Parrot lands goes what member of the Patki clan who dances with stalks and leaves representing crops, during the Antelope rites which precede the public dance of the Snake society.

Here and there, on the basis of various tradifions, other clans were allotted land as they arrived at Oraibi, but even those clans which had no legendary claims to particular plots were not left landless.28 A large triangular stretch of ground near the Oraibi wash was known as "free land," on which any resident, with the chief's consent, was permitted to lay out a farm. Anyone who was a good citizen generally received ready permission, and the tests of good citizenship were frequent participation in Kateina dances, particularly the Homegoing (Niman) dance; readiness

<sup>26</sup> Note that at the present time the head of the Pikyas clan, which is in the same phratry with Patki, plays the role formerly assigned to the Patki chief. It is partly because both leaders claim the land here described that there is so much antagonism between the two clans today. See The Pikyas-Patki Conflict" in Part Three.

It is important to notice, in conjunction with the following chapter, how small a proportion of the Bear land holdings is given over to the Spider people, a "sister" clan in the same phratry. It must be admitted that the Spider land is not very large when we consider that they control three major ceremonies and act as singers in the Soyal. It was their grievance in regard to land distribution that was one of the underlying factors in the civil "war" that led to the split of 1906.

28 The land held by all the Oraibi clans is shown in fig. 5. The exact boundaries are uncertain despite the fact that the Oraibi chief was my principal informant on this question. He did not give me perfectly reliable data in all instances, and he frequently omitted important material. For example, the diagram fails to show the lands held by the chiefs of the four branches of the Wuwutcim (Tribal Initiation) ritual. Compare Colton, H. S., 1934,

to haul wood to the kivas in preparation for important winter rituals such as the Soyal; promptness in responding to calls for communal work, such as the cleaning of springs, or farming for the chief; and willingness occasionally to take the responsibility of sponsoring a dance.29

The religious character of chieftainship at Oraibi is exemplified by the merging of the office of Village chief with leadership in the Soyal. Generally speaking, both offices are held by the head of the Bear clan, and they are transmitted together according to the customary pattern of inheritance.30 As a ruling Village chief grows old he selects a successor from among his brothers or his sisters' sons, usually picking not the eldest eligible relative but the best qualified.31 The prospective heir then begins to accompany the chief to his fields or to his sheep camp, and there he receives secret instructions regarding his future duties.32 In this way the people become aware of the chief's choice of a successor, so that when the incumbent dies the succession is more or less automatically determined. If the Village chief should die without having trained an heir, the members of the Bear clan, assisted by the Soyal chiefs and, sometimes by the heads of other clans, hold a series of meetings to choose a Bear clansman for the vacant offices.33

Once chosen, the new Village chief begins to function immediately, but some time may elapse. before his ceremonial induction to office occurs. This takes the form of a "baptism," performed by

29 It is characteristic of Hopi society that in spite of the great need for having these duties carried out, there is no mechanism to compel their performance.

30 The tangible sign of chieftainship in a society is possession of its most sacred fetish, known as a tiponi. For the Village chieftainship at Oraibi there is no special tiponi, but a new Village chief becomes the recipient of the Soyal tiponi. On First Mesa it is the Flute society's tiponi whose possession marks the Village chief. Parsons, 1936b, p. xxxvi and p. 70.

In 1920 Dr. Parsons listed the Oraibi Town chief and the Winter Solstice (Soyal) chief as separate officers. This was due to the fact that the Village chief had delegated a well-known Sun clansman (brother-in-law of a former chief) to serve in his stead. Parsons, et al., 1922, p. 290. Hopi officials frequently "rest" in this way, and take such opportunities to further the training of a successor.

<sup>81</sup> Compare Parsons, 1939, p. 107. Note that in either case the heir is a member of the chief's natal household group.

<sup>32</sup> Compare Parsons, 1939, pp. 154, 155.

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<sup>88</sup> An account of the actual selection of a Village chief at Walpi occurs in Parsons, 1936b, p. 951, et passim, and in Parsons, 1939, p. 155.

## CHAPTER VI

## THE DISINTEGRATION OF ORAIBI

FROM a practical point of view, the social structure of every Hopi town is made up of a number of matrilineal clans, each comprising one or more closely related households. Despite a nominal allegiance to the Village chief, each clan is to a large extent autonomous, choosing its own officers and transacting its own affairs with a good deal of independence. Since a clan owns land, houses, gardens, and water rights, it is virtually a self-sufficient unit. Only the rule of exogamy and the custom of matrilocal residence force it to co-operate with other groups. Even so, its solidarity is scarcely disturbed by marriages, for a married woman retains an unaltered status in her household and clan, and a married man preserves many ties with his natal group even after he has shifted his residence to an affinal household. Furthermore, the clan absorbs the limited or biological family through the agency of its constituent households, and in many ways it forms so cohesive a group of kindred that it tends to resist assimilation into larger units.1 Thus we find that the phratry elects no officers and has neither political nor economic functions, and that the pueblo is characterized by a decentralized and essentially non-legislative type of government. In short, Hopi society consists of a number of closely-knit matrilineal clans which are loosely combined into phratries and villages.

Such a social system rests on unstable foundations, for the more firmly people adhere to clan lines, the weaker must be their village ties. A Hopi pueblo is like an object with a thin outer shell which holds together a number of firm, distinct segments—should the shell be cracked, the segments would fall apart. Theoretically, the Hopi towns are in constant potential danger of dividing into their component parts, but in practice there are several factors that strongly coun-

teract the tendency to disintegration. In the first place, the enforcement of exogamic regulations inevitably leads to the formation of new bonds which must cut across clan ties; and in the second place the proper performance of rituals demands co-operation, for even if a clan "owns" a given rite, it depends on outside groups to supply secondary leaders and common members.2 Still, the separatistic quality of Hopi clans is a force to be reckoned with, for it exerts a steady pressure on phratry and village links and provides an ever-present threat of ultimate collapse. That such breakdowns have frequently taken place in the past can be readily established by the archaeological record in the Southwest which seems to indicate that "long before the advent of the Conquistadores the habit of town splitting must have developed."3 It is impossible at this date to establish all the sociologic implications of prehistoric pueblo divisions, but it so happens that Oraibi affords a contemporary illustration of the same process, and a study of Oraibi's disintegration should throw considerable light on the more ancient splits.4

Oraibi was founded prior to 1150 A.D., and Hargrave regards it as "the oldest inhabited town in the United States, sharing with Acoma, in New Mexico, the distinction of occupying the same site since its discovery by Europeans in 1540." It is first mentioned in history when Luxan speaks of the arrival of Espejo's expedition in 1583 at "the pueblo of Olalla [Oraibi] which is the largest in the province." Two centuries later, in 1782, Father Morfi declared that Oraibi "is like the capital of the province the largest and best arranged of all. . . ." Even as late as 1906 Oraibi was still "the largest and most important of the villages of the Hopi," with a population of over 600 inhabitants distributed

<sup>1</sup> Although, theoretically, Hopi phratries originated by <sup>2</sup> process of clan segmentation, they have the appearance nowadays of combinations of related clans.

pp. 12, 13.

<sup>3</sup> Parsons, et al., 1922, p. 283.

<sup>4</sup> This point is elaborated in the next chapter.

<sup>6</sup> Hargrave, 1932, p. 1.

- 6 Olalla is identified as Oraibi in Hodge, 1910, p. 143.
- <sup>7</sup> Luxan, 1929, p. 102.
- 8 Thomas, 1932, p. 108.
- 9 Hodge, 1910, p. 142.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Any complete list of participants in a major ritual bears out this statement. For example, in the Oraibi Soyal of 1899, the leaders came from 7 clans other than the Bear which "owns" the ceremony, and the common members were from 9 clans in all. Dorsey and Voth, 1901,

among nearly 150 households, <sup>10</sup> but in that year a civil "war" led to the secession of half its populace, and by 1933 it had dwindled to a ghostly settlement of 112 men, women, and children, occupying about 25 houses in the midst of over a hundred ruined dwellings. Within the span of a single generation the Hopi "capital" had been reduced to a dying village, a modern instance of a pueblo that fell apart when its outer shell was cracked. In this case, as perhaps in many others, it was the impact of foreign culture that struck the fatal blow.

Hopi contacts with white men fall into two major divisions, those with the Spaniards from 1540 to 1823, and those with Americans from 1834 to the present.11 Spanish influence begins with the famous visit of Don Pedro de Tovar, a member of Coronado's expedition, who appeared before the startled Hopi in 1540. As Don Tovar and his party were the first white men ever seen by the natives, it is no wonder that the Indians hurriedly armed themselves, but after a brief skirmish they offered no resistance to the invaders and promptly sued for peace.<sup>12</sup> Reports of the strangers' arrival must have spread rapidly throughout the Hopi towns, for later in the same year, Cardenas "was well received when he reached Tusayan and was entertained by the natives...."13 Whether motivated by fear or out of genuine friendship, the Indians remained well disposed to their Spanish visitors for several years, so that when Espejo reached the Hopi in April, 1583, he was greeted with food and requests for peace.<sup>14</sup> At the same time, the seeds of future conflict may well have been sown on this occasion, for the Spaniards seem to have taken some Hopi women with them when they left.15

Fifteen years later, in November 1598, the Hopi formally surrendered to Juan de Oñate in the name of the king of Spain, and within a short time an "intensive effort to Christianize the Hopi

was begun . . . with the appointment of in aries and the construction of mission building Here was an undoubted cause of strife, for some of the Hopi became nominal Chronic the first half of the seventeenth century, were many others who were bitterly antigon towards the priests. Judged on the basis of general situation that prevailed throughout Southwest, there must have been a great " of complaints concerning the harsh discir enforced by the clergy on their wards and moral laxness of an unfortunately large number of the mission priests."17 More specifically show how this general state of affairs affects Oraibi, it is only necessary to cite one notori instance of priestly misbehavior.

According to France V. Scholes, the "fine often resorted to the imposition of physical par ishment . . . [but] the most flagrant case of record during the entire seventeenth century curred in 1655. In the summer of that year see eral Indian captains from the Hopi pueblos peared before Custodian Ibargaray ... to de nounce the actions of their priest, Friar Salvado de Guerra. . . . Several Indians were summoned to testify, and they told a harrowing tale. They stated that an Oraibi Indian named Juan Cuna had been discovered in some act of idolatry. In the presence of the entire pueblo, Father Guerra gave him such a severe beating that 'he was bathed in blood.' Then, inside the church, the friar administered a second beating, following which he took burning turpentine and larded the Indian's body from head to feet. Soon after receiving this brutal punishment the Indian died. The Indians also testified that several other persons . . . had been whipped and tarred with hot turpentine."18

In the light of such an episode it is not difficult to understand why the Hopi, who had previously refused to participate in an earlier rebellion, did not refrain from joining wholeheartedly in the

 $<sup>^{10}</sup>$  See columns 6 and 7 on chart VI (p. 52) for the number of households, and p. 88, for the 1906 population figures.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> During the period between 1823 and 1834, the Hopi were left almost entirely to themselves.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Winship, 1896, p. 488. For a chronological account of Hopi-Spanish contacts, consult Bartlett, 1934.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Winship, 1896, p. 489.

<sup>14</sup> Luxan, 1929, p. 96.

<sup>16</sup> During a visit to Acoma soon after leaving the Hopi, the Spaniards quarreled with the Acoma Indians over

<sup>&</sup>quot;a Hopi woman belonging to Barreto, who had escaped from him. . . ." Luxan, 1929, p. 37 and p. 112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Hargrave, 1932, p. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Scholes, 1936, p. 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Scholes, 1937, pp. 144, 145. I am indebted to Dr. White for this reference.

During his trial Father Guerra admitted occasionally beating and larding with turpentine a number of villagers. He was removed from office and ordered taken to Mexico City for further hearings, but Scholes was unable to learn anything more about his case.

Revolt of 1680.19 As their share in the they killed all four of the missionaries

e stationed among them.20 hough the reconquest of the territory by ngasin 1692 did not extend as far as Oraibi, mizbitarits of that pueblo seem to have been Tried on the issue of renewing friendship with On the one hand, the Oraibi chief, ready to make peace with Gover-Cubero in 1700, on condition that he be permine to continue his "pueblo rites and pagan on the other hand, when the reblo of Awatovi agreed, in the same year, to baptizing friar, it "was attacked by Orthi and other Hopi, sacked, and abandoued 122 These related events have led Dr. Parsons to infer, with a good deal of probability. there were two parties at Oraibi, a pro Spanish or at least a conciliatory one . . . and offf-necked one. . . . "23 For many years concentions between the rival factions must have prerailed for in 1741, reports Escalante, "God . . . allowed a grave discord over the election of a chief at Oraibe. On this account the pueblo was divided into two parties, who took arms against one another."24 Very likely the anti-Spanish group predominated as Fathers Escalante and Garces were unsuccessful in their efforts to convert the Hope between 1774 and 1776. In those days, as at present, the village leaders seem to have exerted little or no compulsion on their followers, for when the crop failures of 1778 and 1780 had reduced the people to starvation and had led some of them to request help from the Spaniards, the Oraibi chief adopted the customary Hopi policy of laissez faire. For himself, he told Governor Anza on September 23, 1780, "he had resolved to die in the same manner with those who remained with him."25 As for those who wished to follow

the Governor and to become Christians, "On his part," the chief said, "neither in the present nor in the future would they be impeded."26 Despite the lack of official constraint, only a few families left Oraibi, and from that day until the end of the Spanish period in 1823, occasional missionaries came to preach "but none was allowed to live in Hopiland."27

Nearly three centuries had now elapsed since the Hopi had first seen a white man, and during this period there was ample time for stories dealing with the early Spaniards to have taken on a mythological coloring.28 Many legends gathered in the late nineteenth century contain episodes dealing with Bahana (White Man), who had come to be regarded as a contemporary of the first Hopi to have emerged from the Underworld.29 In several origin tales Bahana is described as an elder brother to the Hopi, who, after a short period of wandering together, had departed for the east promising to return at some future date when the Hopi had need of him. 30 How Bahana was to be identified, and whether or not he was to be welcomed, were lively topics of debate in the closing decades of the past century.31

During the period of nominal Mexican control, 1823-1848, the Hopi were rarely visited by white men, but the first of their contacts with Americans which took place in 1834 was of such a nature that it could not have failed to antagonize them. Several trappers who had wantonly plundered some Hopi gardens fired into a crowd of natives that had gathered in protest and killed about 15 or 20 of them.<sup>32</sup> Small wonder if the effects of this act were felt throughout the Hopi towns and provided the basis for a hostile attitude towards all Americans.

At Oraibi, Talaiyauoma, who was Village chief from 1825(?) to 1850(?),33 was probably the

<sup>19</sup> Hackett, 1911, p. 130.

20 For details of Hopi participation see Bartlett, 1934, pp. 56, 57.

<sup>n</sup> Bloom, 1931, p. 197, footnote 37.

22 Parsons, 1939, p. 862. For further details on the destruction of Awatovi, see Fewkes, 1893; and Brew, 1937.

22 Parsons, 1939, p. 862, footnote \*.

24 Thomas, 1932, p. 159. The date is given on p. 160. 25 Thomas, 1932, p. 234. 26 Thomas, 1932, p. 234.

<sup>27</sup> Parsons, 1939, p. 862.

28 The speed with which recent events can be woven into Hopi mythology is well brought out in Nequatewa. 1938. In 1898 Dr. Fewkes left Walpi because of a smallpox epidemic. Less than forty years later a vivid tale was being told that he had been frightened off by a nocturnal

visit from Masau'u, the Hopi god of death.

<sup>29</sup> Mrs. Colton and other students of the Hopi believe that the Bahana myth antedates the Spanish coming. Nequatewa, 1936, p. 105, note 14. In the opinion of the writer there is insufficient evidence for such a belief.

Bahana is now a general term for all white men except Mexicans, who are called Castillas.

80 Voth, 1905b, pp. 11, 15, et passim; Cushing, 1923, p. 169; and Wallis, 1936, pp. 11, 12.

<sup>81</sup> Nequatewa, 1936, p. 50.

<sup>82</sup> Bartlett, 1936, p. 34. This episode is described in Victor, 1871, p. 153.

38 My informant on the subject of nineteenth century Oraibi chiefs was the present Village leader, Tawaqwaptiwa. All dates followed by question marks are approxihead of the pueblo when the fracas with the trappers took place. Talaiyauoma was a member of the Squash clan, but he held the Village chieftainship by virtue of the fact that his father was a Bear clansman.34 He is described as a hot-tempered individual, so we may be sure that he deeply resented the killing of his tribespeople by Americans. He was succeeded by Nakwaiyamptiwa, of the Bear clan, who held office from 1850(?) to 1865(?). The new leader was an albino who was nicknamed Qötctaka (literally, white man, but not to be confused with Bahana). Only a few details are known about Nakwaiyamptiwa, but he was probably anti-American, for in 1858 Lieutenant Ives "found the Oraibi chief surly and unfriendly."35 He is supposed to have been a good chief and a good rain-maker. During a plague of prairie dogs one fall he is said to have called for a Masau Katcina dance,36 which caused a veritable cloudburst that drowned all the prairie dogs. Nakwaiyamptiwa never married, "because in those days 'ladies' did not like albinos." He had trained Talahöniwa, presumably one of his sisters' sons, to succeed him, but the latter died some time before Nakwaiyamptiwa's own death about 1865. Since he left no acknowledged heir, the choice of Nakwaiyamptiwa's successor lay between two youthful brothers from the Bear clan, Sakhongyoma and Lololoma. Both were considered too young to hold the Village chieftainship, so their father, Kuyingwu of the Water Coyote clan, served as regent and temporary head of the Soyal ceremony from 1865(?) to about 1880.

While Kuyingwu was acting Village chief of Oraibi, the Hopi suffered dreadfully from drought and famine, particularly between 1866 and 1868.<sup>37</sup> It was while they were still troubled by hard times that the Moqui [Hopi] Pueblo Agency was established by the government of the United States in 1870. Apparently, Kuyingwu was bitterly antagonistic to Americans, for under date of November 15, 1871, the Special Agent for Moqui Pueblo Indians reported, "My reception

mations which were made on the basis of the data he provided.

<sup>84</sup> Although Village chiefs should be from the Bear clan, it is not unusual for fathers or sons of Bear men to hold office under special circumstances, as in the case of Kuyingwu whose story follows.

<sup>25</sup> Donaldson, 1893, p. 29.

<sup>36</sup> Masau Katcina, representing the god of death who does things by opposites, is the only Katcina that may appear in the fall.

<sup>37</sup> Donaldson, 1893, pp. 19 and 42.

by these people was of a cordial character from the Oreybes, who manifested much tility to me, saying they did not wish to anything to do with the Government and regret to say, a portion of them continue to be hostile. I also found the relation between the six villages and the Oreybes was not of a friendly character.... The chiefs [of the other towns said they had no unkind feeling toward the Orey. bes, but the chief of the Oreybes was angry with them because they were friends to the white man and the Government... Early in August 1 visited the Moquis with a view of taking the census . . . and was successful apart from the Oreybes, the chief utterly refusing me the privilege."38 In 1873 Oraibi is reported to have shown a somewhat more tolerant attitude towards Americans, but even as late as 1878 the villagers still refused to permit a census to be taken.

COOP O B ES

It was in an atmosphere of marked opposition to American influence, then, that Kuyingwu's sons, Sakhongyoma and Lololoma, grew to maturity. At first, as their father's regency drew to an end, the brothers held the chieftainship alternately, but by 1880 Lololoma, the younger of the two, had come to be recognized as Village chief of Oraibi, although Sakhongyoma continued to perform the Soyal ceremony on his behalf.<sup>39</sup> At the start of his rule, Lololoma continued his father's anti-American policy,<sup>40</sup> but not long after 1880 he completely changed his attitude, thus taking the first direct step towards the ultimate disintegration of the Hopi "capital."

Lololoma's conversion to Americanism occurred early in the Eighteen Eighties. At that time the Navaho were a constant source of worry to the Hopi as they kept filtering into the latter's reservation. To discuss ways and means of stopping the Navaho, a party of Hopi chiefs was taken to Washington by Thomas Keam, one of the first traders to become established on Hopi territory. Lololoma was a member of Keam's group and took part in a conference with the President

<sup>88</sup> Crothers, 1872, p. 704. The writer of the report was W. D. Crothers, United States Special Agent for Moqui Pueblo Indians, Arizona territory.

39 Although the Village chief is theoretically chief of the Soyal, the latter office is often filled by a close relation Soyal (2) for the Soyal (3) for the Soyal (4) for the Soyal (4) for the Soyal (4) for the Soyal (5) for the Soyal (5) for the Soyal (5) for the Soyal (6) for the

tive. See p. 63, footnote 30.

<sup>40</sup> A missionary school had opened at Keam's Canyon soon after 1875, according to Nequatewa, 1936, p. 60. That Lololoma opposed the opening of this school appears from the statement he made to Julian Scott which is quoted on the following page.

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's Canyon 36, p. 60. ol appears which is Inted States. While they were in Washine Hopi chiefs "were asked to try to dient people down off their mesas and adtoget them to spread about and form other incommunities in the country nearby," 2 as a as of checking the Navaho spread. 3

hetrip to Washington made so deep and so mable an impression on Lololoma that it med him to reverse completely his former attite towards Americans and their culture. While cussing the education of Oraibi children with social Agent Julian Scott, Lololoma admitted that he had been opposed to the school until his Washington, when he saw ... so many orderful things which . . . grew out of the sysof education existing among the white people, [that] he had changed his mind and would seall his influence in the future in persuading people to send their children to school."44 followa is also thought to have promised the President that he would permit the establishment of a Protestant mission at Oraibi, and the Mennonne sect was the first in the field.45 From this time on the acceptance of American schooling and conversion to Christianity became closely linked concepts in Hopi thought.

L'ololoma's change of policy immediately caised a violent reaction among his people. Some of them favored the new attitude, but a large part of Oraibi's populace was ultra-conservative and vigorously condemned the Village chief's change of heart. In the ensuing struggle those who favored Lololoma's point of view came to be known as Progressives or Friendlies, while those who opposed it were called Conservatives or Hostiles. The Friendlies were led, of course, by Lololoma, but the opposition soon found a worthy leader in the person of Lomahongyoma, head man of the Spider clan, who was nicknamed "Uncle Joe" by government agents. Lomahonygoma was anything but an upstart who rashly defied his tra-

<sup>4</sup> Probably President Arthur, who was in office from 1881 to 1885.

<sup>42</sup> Nequatewa, 1936, p. 109, note 47.

43 The rights of the Hopi to their territory "were tacitly recognized by President Arthur in his proclamation of December 16, 1882, when he threw about them the protection of a reservation to keep off white people and the Navajos." Donaldson, 1893, p. 9.

44 Donaldson, 1893, p. 56.

46 According to Parsons a Moravian mission was established at Oraibi some time after 1870. Parsons, 1939, p. 862. My informants dated the event closer to 1880.

46 There is a touch of irony in this situation, for a man and his paternal aunt's husband are supposed to enjoy a

ditional Village chief. On the contrary, he had long been an important figure at Oraibi and was in a strong position to challenge Lololoma's authority.

Lomahongyoma was the son of Leonim of the Spider clan by a Sun clansman. He had been chosen head of the Spider clan which is in the same phratry as the Bear, thus making the rival leaders "brothers." Furthermore, Lomahongyoma was married to Qötcyamka of the Water Coyote clan, to which Lololoma's father, Kuyingwu, had belonged. Thus Qötcyamka was paternal aunt (ikya'a) to Lololoma, which made her husband Lomahongyoma the "grandfather" (ikwa'a) of his arch rival.46 Apart from kinship connections with the Village chief's family, Lomahongyoma was also an important religious officer. He had been initiated into the Wuwutcim at Blue Flute kiva (Sakwalenvi), which automatically qualified him for Soyal membership, and in that ceremony he held an important post as a singer of sacred songs. He was also the chief of the highly regarded Blue Flute ceremony, and the head of the Blue Flute kiva in which the Soyal was performed. Finally, he was a member of the Warrior society (Mutcwimi), of which his own mother's brother, Talai'ima, was chief.47

His position in the community plainly shows that Lomahongyoma was no unworthy opponent to Lololoma, and it is not surprising that he should have threatened to usurp the chieftainship as soon as the Conservative faction had rallied about him. In the conflict that followed, each side sought to justify its stand and to prove the "holiness" of its cause by citing Hopi mythology. Lololoma's version ran along the following lines.<sup>48</sup>

In the Underworld so much trouble was caused by the Spider and the Bow clans which were "partners" in mischief-making, 40 that Matcito, the Bear clan chief, decided to order an Emergence. He planned to lead only his good followers to the surface of the earth, but some of the bad

joking relationship.

<sup>47</sup> The biographical material used throughout this chapter is taken from notes obtained during the census of

Oraibi, as described on p. 51.

<sup>48</sup> The version given here is condensed from an account supplied by Tawaqwaptiwa, who had been chosen and trained for the Village chieftainship by Lololoma. As the Bear chiefs tell it, the story is full of pointed references, not found in other versions, that color the narrative and support the Friendlies' position. For a more conventional rendition see Voth, 1905b, pp. 10–15.

<sup>49</sup> The Bow clan is frequently called "crazy" at Oraibi, and at least two of its members were actually psycho-

pathic.

people (witches) also climbed out. Soon the young daughter of the Bear chief died, and it was found that she had been killed by Spider Woman, ancestress (wuya) of the Spider clan. Matcito was going to punish Spider Woman but she showed him that his daughter had returned happily to the Underworld so he let her go. 50

After journeying for some time, Matcito drew on the ground a line running to the east with two forked branches, one pointing north and the other south. "I am going to walk on the path to the south," announced Matcito. "You, Spider Woman, must go to the north. I have no power to feed my people or to bring rain. I have only the Watchmen Brothers [Little War Twins], the Katcinas and the Soyal ceremony. I think more people will follow you because you can bring rain and make the crops grow. You know how to protect your people from sickness—I have nothing." 51

Now the choice was with the people and a few prepared to go with Matcito but most of them went with the Spider Woman who had the Blue Flute ceremony which is supposed to bring a warm sun for the crops. As she was leaving, Spider Woman said, "I am going to the north to Kawestima<sup>52</sup> where it is always cold. For a number of years we shall travel apart, but some day we shall come together again. Whenever we meet I will draw your people away from you and you will have no followers—you will be worthless."

Among those who had emerged with the Hopi was a White Man, Bahana [Montezuma], who had exceptional qualities and who looked upon the Hopi as "younger brothers." When Spider Woman had finished it was Bahana's turn to speak. "Now I will leave you and travel east," he said, "but I will turn to watch you, Matcito, and I will keep my ears open. If there is any trouble with the Spider Woman, I'll keep watch and help you. You, chief, turn to the east and watch me. We came from the same home—we are not friends but brothers. If Spider Woman makes trouble [witchcraft] I shall return and cut off her head."

Then Bahana departed for the east, Matcito started south, and the Spider Woman traveled to the north. In time Matcito settled at Oraibi and Spider Woman stopped at Kawestima, near the Colorado river. During the first year her crops were very good, in the second year they began to fail, and in the third and fourth years she had no harvest at all. Then Spider Woman admitted her failure and advised her followers to rejoin Matcito. So they searched for his settlement and finally came to Oraibi

<sup>50</sup> Most of the origin tales do not attribute the first death to Spider Woman. In fact, another account of this episode blames the first death on the nephew of Matcito, the Bear chief. Voth, 1905b, p. 12.

humbleness. The gods are more apt to help a poor man, humility is a great Hopi virtue, and unusual ability is the mark of a witch. See Titiev, 1943a, p. 553.

<sup>52</sup> Described as "a ruin in a canyon near Navajo Mountain," in Nequatewa, 1936, p. 65. Note the contrast of

and asked to be admitted. The Spider clan leader said, "I'll make a kiva for you and help you at Soyal. When you make nakwakwosi (prayer-feathers) for the Six Directions (the four cardinal points, zenith and nadir), I'll distribute them. I'll fetch the things you need in the ceremony, and I'll help you to erect the altars. At totokya (food providing, usually the final day devoted to secret exercises in the kiva), I'll collect the corn to be 'blessed' and I'll carry the offerings to Lehu spring and pray for your people. I'll be your helper and messenger, and you can just six here and not do hard work while you are performing the Soyal." 183

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The Spider chief also offered to sing during the Soyal, to perform his Blue Flute ceremony, and to hold the winter observances of the Blue Flute in his kiva. But despite his fair words and good promises he still had in his heart the idea of stirring up future trouble which he had received from the Spider Woman. Matcito too knew what his destiny was, but he accepted the offers of the Spider leader and allowed his clan to settle at Oraibi.

Just as the Friendly leaders took a fatalistic view of the prospect of future trouble, so too did the Hostiles accept their rôle of dissenters and rebels, even to the point of admitting that they were destined to be beheaded by Bahana.<sup>54</sup> In only two basic respects did their legends differ from those of their rivals. In the first place, they did not admit that they were witches but imputed witchcraft to their opponents. In the second place, they made a major issue of the need for properly identifying the true Bahana before agreeing to accept his way of life. According to the Conservative accounts, as Bahana was about to leave the Hopi soon after the Emergence, each party "took a stone upon which there were some marks and figures, and that fitted together."55 When the true Bahana returned, argued the Hostiles, he would be able to converse with his younger brother in Hopi, and he would produce a stone to match the one held by the Hopi. On both counts, Lololoma was accused of having made an erroneous identification of his American friends as Bahanas. "These white men are not the true Bohanna, who will come some day and who will know the Hopi language,"56 insisted

Mateito with Spider Woman who openly makes boasts throughout her speech.

<sup>58</sup> The promises attributed to the Spider chief are only a catalogue of the duties he performed at Oraibi. Throughout the narrative the present situation is rationalized.

54 Compare Cushing, 1923, pp. 169, 170.

<sup>56</sup> Voth, 1905b, p. 21. Compare p. 60. <sup>56</sup> Crane, 1926, p. 167. The speaker was Yokioma of the Kokop clan who later succeeded Lomahongyoma as leader of the Conservatives.

HP1996

one of the outstanding Hostiles. Again and again he reminded his supporters that "the Bahana who established the school was not their true brother who had come up from the underworld with them. If he was, he would have shown the Hopis his written tradition to compare with their tradition." And to emphasize his position, the same exponent of Conservative beliefs stoutly maintained that if the Hopi did submit to the teachings of a false Bahana, the mythical water serpent, Palulokong, would punish them by sending a flood to end the world. 58

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To stress only the expressed differences in mythological interpretation between the contending parties would be to give a distorted view of the situation. In reality there was a strong sociological aspect to the quarrel between the Bear and the Spider leaders. The Spider people regarded themselves as peers of the Bears because the two clans were "partners" in the same phratry, yet the highest office in the village was held only by the Bear clan and the Spiders were not eligible to be Village chiefs. Then too the Spider people had a grievance in another respect. The Bear clan owned only one major ritual, the Soyal, but the Spiders controlled the Blue Flute and the Antelope ceremonies, besides helping with the Soyal and sharing in the control of the important Warrior society. Nevertheless, the Bears were owners of the entire Oraibi domain, while the Spider clan was allotted only a small piece of land in spite of its ceremonial importance. 59

Analysis reveals, therefore, that Lololoma's receptiveness to American influence provided a casus belli, but that the primary division of the village resulted from the splitting of the weak phratry tie that had held two strong clans together.<sup>60</sup>

67 Nequatewa, 1936, p. 62.

I should willingly accept the ways of the Bohannas. Immediately the Great Snake would turn over, and the Sea would rush in, and we would all be drowned. You too. I am therefore protecting you." Compare Wallis,

<sup>59</sup> See p. 63, footnote 27, and fig. 5, p. 62.

60 A similar diagnosis of the situation is found in Leupp, 1906, p. 124. "It is believed by not a few persons who know these Indians well," wrote Leupp, "that their division grew wholly out of the internal political dissensions of the tribe; that one of the factions conceived the device of declaring itself friendly to the United States Government, not because it felt so especially, but because it believed that by such a declaration it could win the favor

As the conflict gained headway, the Spider clan received its strongest support from the Kokop clan. 61 According to their traditions, the Kokop people were the most aggressive and warlike of the Hopi clans. They were in the same phratry as the Masau'u and Coyote clans (Phratry VI), and they claimed as their ancients (wuya) both Masau'u and the Little War Twins. They were supposed to have been refused admittance to Oraibi by Matcito, until a threat of invasion forced him to call on them for help.62 For having repelled the invaders, Matcito permitted the Kokop clan to live in Oraibi on condition that they continue to serve him as warriors. With them they brought the Warrior society (Momtcit), whose control they shared with the Spider clan, thus linking the two groups. In addition, there were numerous personal ties between the leading men of the two clans. Lomahongyoma, the Spider chief, had a favorite uncle (own mother's brother), Talai'ima, head of the Warrior society, with whose son he used to herd sheep.63 This uncle was married to a Kokop woman named Pongyamönim. Then too one of Lomahongyoma's own nephews (sister's son), Humiwai'ima, also a Warrior society chief, was likewise married to a Kokop woman, who was called Duveyesnim.

Of the Kokop men to join the Spider clan's cause, one of the most important was Patupha. He was a member of the Warrior society and the last survivor of the now extinct real Medicine society (Pocwimi). Patupha was regarded even by his enemies as an outstanding shaman, and his power was greatly feared. He was very active on the Conservative side, but he died before matters came to a head in 1906. His place was taken by his younger brother, Yokioma. <sup>64</sup> This Kokop leader belonged to the Warrior and the Antelope

of the Government and obtain an invincible ally in its struggle with the other faction... I, for one, cherish no illusions as to the meaning of the professions of good will on the part of the Friendly faction."

61 The word Kokop has been variously translated as Firewood, Cedarwood, Charcoal, etc. All of these are incorrect, and it is far better to leave the word untrans-

lated.

<sup>62</sup> Some legends say that the Kokop clan deliberately invited the enemy to attack Oraibi, in order to compel Matcito to use their services as warriors.

68 Lomahongyoma herded sheep in partnership with his brother, Lomayestiwa, and Talangainiwa, a Kokop who was the son of Talai'ima.

64 I cannot determine whether Yokioma was a full brother of Patupha, a half-brother, or a clan brother. Be-

societies, both of which had Spider chiefs. It was his niece, Duveyesnim, who was married to Lomahongyoma's nephew, Humiwai'ima; and his own son, Qötchongva, of the Sun clan, was married to Lomahongyoma's niece, Kuwanwunka. The close ceremonial and family ties between the two men help to explain why Yokioma gradually replaced Lomahongyoma as the major figure in the Conservative party.

So quickly did the schism between Hostiles and Friendlies spread after Lololoma's return from Washington early in the Eighteen Eighties, that when Cushing arrived at Oraibi in 1883, he found the village already divided into two antagonistic camps. "Opposed to these officials of the regulative system of the Oraibis [that is, the traditional chiefs]," wrote Cushing, "are certain men who, by virtue of their claimed heredity and craft, are supposed to have possession of superhuman powers or magic, the sorcerer priests of the tribe. . . . 65 By means of a reckless effrontery unparalleled by anything I have else known of other Indians, they in council boldly attack the regular chiefs. . . . They go so far as to threaten the life of the highest priest-chief of the tribe, if this incumbent . . . be so bold as uncomprisingly to oppose their aims. . . . So great is their power that their leader assumes all the title ... of the highest priest-chief of the tribe . . . tracing his descent from the mythic grandmothers of the human race—the Spider and the Bat."66

There can be no doubt that Cushing is referring to the faction led by "Uncle Joe" Lomahongyoma, although he does not mention the latter by name. These people openly insulted Lololoma and prevented him from trading with Cushing; they reviled Cushing and reiterated their hatred for "Washington and his American children"; 67 they made frequent allusions to such mythological elements as demands that Washington send soldiers "to kill the Oraibi and sit on their heads"; 68

cause Yokioma was leader of the Hostiles when they were expelled from Oraibi in 1906, many recent Hopi informants are inclined to regard him as having led the Conservatives from the first. Note, however, that Dorsey and Voth, 1901, p. 9, speak of Lomahongyoma's leadership in 1901, but fail throughout their discussion to mention Yokioma.

and they spoke of ancient markings recorded on magic stones. 69

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From Cushing's narrative it appears that the Conservatives were the stronger group in 1883. They had already convinced themselves that Americans were not true Bahanas, and they had reached the point of repudiating every aspect of American culture. Accordingly, when a government school was opened at Keam's Canyon in 1887,70 they refused to send their youngsters, and even as late as 1889 it was noted by Fewkes that most of the pupils were from East Mesa and that "few children were obtained from Oraibi." n To remedy the situation quotas were established for each of the Hopi towns, but the Oraibi people stubbornly refused to conform. In November. 1890, Mr. Keam went with a party of officials to Third Mesa to explain the idea of the quota to the villagers, but Lololoma "replied that he understood what the nature of the business was. but that the bad element in the town was working against him."72 Keam asked to have the ringleaders pointed out, and Lololoma sent the officials to a kiva where they found and arrested a badly frightened Hopi who was supposedly one of the principal medicine men of the tribe.78 As he was being led away, the party encountered his brother (Yokioma?) and promptly took him into custody. too. Lololoma's betrayal of their chiefs aroused the Conservatives to such a pitch that they imprisoned him in a kiva, from which unfortunate predicament he was rescued in December, 1890, by United States troops under Lieutenant Grierson.74

By now the Hostiles were bolder and more defiant than ever. In the spring of 1891 when the government sent a party of surveyors to survey the Hopi reservation with a view to allotting the land in severalty, all the Village chiefs were opposed to the scheme, but it remained for the Oraibi people to pull up most of the surveyors'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> As a descendant of the Spider Woman, Lomahongyoma was credited with being able to do "wonderful" things by magic.

<sup>66</sup> Parsons, et al., 1922, pp. 258, 259.

<sup>67</sup> Parsons, et al., 1922, p. 263.

<sup>68</sup> Parsons, et al., 1922, p. 264.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Parsons, et al., 1922, p. 266. Cf. Cushing, 1923, p. 170.
<sup>70</sup> Donaldson, 1893, p. 36. According to Fewkes, the school was not firmly established until 1889.

It is of the utmost significance that the school was opened soon after a petition had been signed in 1886 by several leading men from First and Second Mesas, but no signatures were obtained from Third Mesa. See Atkins, 1886, p. lxxx.

<sup>71</sup> Parsons, et al., 1922, p. 273.

<sup>72</sup> Donaldson, 1893, p. 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> The medicine man referred to here is probably Patupha of the Kokop clan.

<sup>74</sup> Donaldson, 1893, p. 37.

stakes as soon as the men had left.75 At about the same time some of the Oraibi children who had been taken to the school at Keam's Canyon ran away and returned home. These and "various other irritations led to the issuing of an order in 1891 to arrest several of the chiefs of Oraibi who had become outspoken."76

The duty of making the arrests fell to First Lieutenant L. M. Brett. On June 21, 1891, he led a small party of six cavalry men, "the school teacher, the agent, and an interpreter," to Oraibi.77 As he was approaching the pueblo, Lololoma met him, "warning him not to enter the village . . . as most of the men, under the influence and direction of their medicine man, were in arms and fortified to resist his command. . . . Lieutenant Brett arrested some of the recalcitrants on the plain at the foot of the mesa, and placing one of the prisoners alongside of each of his men ascended the mesa. . . . "78 In the main plaza he found himself confronted by a large force of warriors, stationed on the housetops and armed "with bows and arrows and old firearms, some of which may have dated back to the Conquest."79 Before the lieutenant knew what to expect, the Hopi began to make a formal, ceremonial declaration of war. To this end they had "dressed three of their number to represent the three Wargods.... The first two, arrayed in prescribed costumes, appeared in the plaza....The last mentioned, or the Little War-god, did not appear in public..."80 The proceedings began when "A man, clothed to represent [Kokyangwuhti, the Spider Woman] . . . approached the force drawn up on the plaza and advised them to leave, stating that trouble would result if they did not do so. The next personification to approach represented the God of Death, clothed to represent Masawuh. He wore a black mask painted with spots and carried various objects, among which was a bowl filled with a liquid medicine that had been prepared for the occasion, and as he passed along the line of soldiers he sprinkled them all with this medicine, using for this purpose a feather. He peremptorily ordered the soldiers to

leave the pueblo before the appearance of the Little War God, when hostilities would immediately begin....This Little War God is the leader of the warriors in their war parties and is known by his knitted cap with a rounded point somewhat resembling a German helmet. His shield is adorned with a figure of the sun and he wears various symbols of war and is decorated with feathers painted red."81

Elsewhere, in discussing the same episode, Fewkes ventures the opinion that still another figure, in addition to the Little War God, had also been dressed up and was ready to emerge. This impersonation stood for a curious "bird-like animal, with one long and a small singular appendage to the neck on the upper side. The name Kūa-tu-ku-ĕ [Kwatoko]82 has been given me for the personage which it represents, and those with whom I have spoken about it have sometimes concealed information with a shudder, as if it was a terrible being..."83

Luckily for all concerned, the theatrical declaration of war was not carried through to the beginning of actual hostilities, and Lieutenant Brett and his little band wisely withdrew without forcing an issue. A short time later, on July 16, 1891, Lieutenant Colonel Corbin went with a much larger force to carry out the arrest order. Keam accompanied the soldiers, and on the way they "met a courier . . . who informed us that the bad Oraibis had threatened to kill La-lo-la-my on sight of the troops and were prepared to fight."84 However, Keam sent a message urging the Hostiles to surrender, and when Corbin's command arrived at Oraibi they had little trouble in arresting the wanted men. Corbin urged the Hopi to obey Lololoma as their legal chief, and "fired the Hotchkiss guns to show what would have happened if they resisted. In the excitement one Hostile jumped off the mesa and escaped."85 The prisoners were taken to Fort Wingate, and it seems that leaders from both factions were arrested, for Parupha "was taken by the soldiers to Wingate,"86 and Lololoma was a prisoner at the

fort in November, 1891.87

<sup>76</sup> Parsons, et al., 1922, p. 274.

<sup>76</sup> Parsons, et al., 1922, p. 274.

n Parsons, et al., 1922, p. 275. General McCook's report says that there were ten soldiers in the party. Donaldson, 1893, p. 38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> General McCook, in Donaldson, 1893, p. 38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Parsons, et al., 1922, p. 275.

<sup>80</sup> Fewkes, 1902b, pp. 493, 494.

<sup>81</sup> Parsons, et al., 1922, pp. 275, 276.

<sup>82</sup> For references to Kwatoko, see Parsons, 1939, p. 178, et passim. This creature is pictured in Parsons, 1936b, pp. 1013, 1025, 1026.

<sup>83</sup> Fewkes, 1892b, pp. 14, 15.

<sup>84</sup> Donaldson, 1893, p. 37.

<sup>86</sup> Parsons, 1936b, p. 723. 85 Donaldson, 1893, p. 37.

<sup>87</sup> Donaldson, 1893, p. 16.

Thus ends the story of one of the most exciting and dramatic incidents in Oraibi's history, as told by a number of non-Hopi participants. To the natives within the pueblo the same series of events had a somewhat different connotation, and it is highly illuminating to compare the foregoing account with the Hopi version.

As Chief Tawaqwaptiwa relates it, 88 the rumor that troops were coming to Oraibi stirred the Hostiles into action. Gathering near the Wiklavi kiva,89 they made an attempt to murder Lololoma before the soldiers arrived. 90 One man, Oötcyauoma, a Water Coyote, 91 pointed a gun at the Village chief, but when Lololoma stood facing him without fear, his adversary failed to shoot.92 Then Lololoma said, "Well, you're the one that's going to kill me. Well, go ahead and shoot." Still no shot was forthcoming. Four times the chief dared him to fire, getting more insistent with each challenge. Meantime, the troops had appeared and were awaiting Qotcyauoma's shot before they opened fire on the Hostiles.93 When Qötcyauoma failed to carry out the threatened assassination, a white soldier fired in the air "to show that there was to be no shooting."94

Just as the echoes faded, a low moaning cry, characteristic of Masau'u, was heard coming from the Kokop clan house. 6 "Come out, Masau'u, don't be a coward," cried Lololoma, "I'm not afraid of you." At this Patupha came out, dressed in complete Masau'u costume. In full view of the white soldiers he made a sweeping gesture as if embracing something, to indicate

88 It must be borne in mind that Tawaqwaptiwa, an adolescent youth at the time of the disturbance, was destined to succeed his uncle Lololoma as Village chief and was obviously prejudiced in favor of the Friendlies. Then again, in our interviews in 1934 he was describing events that had transpired over forty years ago, and it is only natural that his story should contain several factual errors. On the whole it is surprisingly accurate when compared with the printed accounts.

<sup>89</sup> This is the kiva in which the Warrior society, owned jointly by Kokop and Spider, normally met. It is near the Kokop clan house, and seems to have been a center of Hostile activities.

90 In 1906 the Hostiles were again accused of plotting to murder the Friendly chief. Leupp, 1906, p. 129.

<sup>81</sup> Qötcyauoma, a clan brother of Lomahongyoma's wife, belonged to Phratry VI which contains the Kokop clan. He was in exactly the same three ceremonies as Lomahongyoma. He was the War chief of the latter's Blue Flute society, and a member of the Warrior society, and of the Wuwutcim at Blue Flute kiva.

92 Nequatewa, 1936, p. 71, tells almost an identical story—with the emphasis reversed. He makes Yokioma

that he owned all the surrounding land; and then pointing to the troops, he motioned away from his chest to show that none of it belonged to them. Then he went back into the house, but soon reappeared with a plaque containing piki bread and prayer-feathers. He waved the tray in four rotating motions "to show that the attack on the Hopi had failed, and that bad thoughts were to leave the minds of the people." Then he went to the shrine north of the village where Masau'u impersonators usually undress, and here he took off his costume and deposited prayer-offerings before returning to the Kokop house where he cleaned up and washed off the blood which is poured on Masau'u's hood.

Meantime, within the Kokop house, a number of other impersonators had been prepared to emerge had the attack not failed. After Masau'u had appeared, a woman named Sinimka was supposed to come out with a gourd full of ashes. This she was to dash on the ground, scattering the ashes and so weakening the enemy that they would be helpless to resist being clubbed to death. Then the elder of the Little War Twins (Pukonghöya), impersonated by Talasyestiwa of the Lizard clan, 97 was to have made his appearance, and after him the Hostile leader, Lomahongyoma, stood ready to enact the part of his wuya, the Spider Woman. He carried medicine for making the hearts of his followers "swollen and insane" in order that they might the more easily be led to attack their fellow villagers. The Little War Twin (Palungahöya), played by Puhuwaitiwa,98

the hero and Tawaqwaptiwa the dastard who dares not shoot.

<sup>32</sup> The nearest non-Hopi parallel to this recital is given in Donaldson, 1893, p. 16.

<sup>94</sup> This cryptic phrase may refer to Corbin's firing the Hotchkiss guns as a warning.

<sup>96</sup> It is important to remember that Masau'u is a wuya of the Kokops.

<sup>96</sup> Sinimka was from the Pikyas clan, most of which sided with Lololoma, but her father was a Cedar clansman and a phratry brother of Kokop. It was through his influence that she was led to join the Hostiles. Details of her costume were not known, but the ashes she carried were potent war medicine for which the Kokop people had long been noted. Compare p. 155.

<sup>97</sup> He was married to Kuwanyonsi, sister's daughter of Lomahongyoma, and he was in the Al and Snake societies, both of which are partially military in character.

<sup>98</sup> Puhuwaitiwa was a Snake, or possibly a Lizard clansman. He was in Lomahongyoma's Blue Flute ceremony and had also entered the Wuwutcim at Blue Flute kiva (Sakwalenvi) of which Lomahongyoma was the head.

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Lizard fe cereie Flute as the was next in line; and finally, as Fewkes had guessed, there was an impersonation of the dread Kwatoko, a powerful war-bird that lives in the sky and has the reputation of being a fierce killer. "After a slaughter," the Hopi say, "Kwatoko is supposed to come out and feast on the dead." This part was played by an Eagle clansman named Qötcnöva.99

At the same time that the special actors were waiting their turns to emerge, all the Kokop clansmen were crowded into their clan house. Some of them went out of the back door to throw meal at the sun in order to "kill" it, i.e. make it dark so that they might fight in darkness. (However, Tawaqwaptiwa says that they were really praying to the sun for the power to kill Lololoma.) They were dressed for war, with bands of knotted yucca leaves about their foreheads, 100 and all had war symbols drawn on their cheeks and noses with specular iron. To the townspeople who had sided with Lololoma the Kokop men called out, "Now the world is going to end, and if you want to be saved come to the Kokop house and join our side!"101 But the Progressives replied, "It is better for us to stay by our chief even if we die.'

In spite of the elaborate preparations for war that the Kokop clan had made, only the Masau'u impersonator actually appeared in public, and when he found that Qötcyauoma had failed to carry out his part in the shooting of Lololoma, he signalled peace by waving the tray of piki bread. Were it not for that action, the other characters would have come forth as planned, and war and destruction would have followed, for the Hostiles had arranged that after the death of the Village chief they would make a mass attack on his supporters and gain possession of the pueblo.

By dressing as Masau'u with the intent of de-

99 It was appropriate for an Eagle man to impersonate Kwatoko, as "powerful" birds are wuyam of the Eagle clan. Qötcnöva was married to the daughter of Yokioma's brother.

100 Only Kokop warriors were supposed to wear yucca

101 This refers to the tradition that if the Hopi accepted a false Bahana, the mythical water serpent would send a flood to end the world.

102 Each secret society has an ailment which it inflicts on those who betray its secrets or break its rules. This is known as its whip, and those who have been in contact with sacred objects must discharm themselves lest they incur the whipping disease. The chief is merely following a conventional pattern in closing a story of ritual action with an account of discharming. See Parsons, 1939, pp. claring war against his own fellows, Patupha had done a great wrong, and people often came to reproach him, crying for sorrow over the trouble he had caused them. Then he fell sick, and his cheeks puffed up until his eyes were closed. This was the "whipping" punishment that came to him for his actions, even though he had tried to escape the consequences by performing a discharming rite with the tray of piki. 102

As is to be expected, the turbulent events of the summer of 1891 caused the rift between Progressives and Conservatives to grow wider and wider, until the latter finally seceded from Lololoma's jurisdiction "and soon after began to recognize Lomahongyoma as leader."103 Since the Hostiles claimed the greater following, Lomahongyoma argued that he, and not Lololoma, was the actual Village chief; and in the course of numerous long arguments with his rival he contended that he owned the Oraibi lands because of his position as head of the Spider clan.<sup>104</sup> To this claim Lololoma retorted, "You had a piece of land for acting as my servant in the Soyal, and when you quit that job the land became mine and not yours." "That is not so," insisted Lomahongyoma, "it belongs to me. I own all these fields, not you. I've got it all and you've got nothing. That is why I ought to stand at the head of the people instead of you."105 Not content with debating the issue, Lomahongyoma actually went so far as to select a good field for himself on Bear clan territory, and this he cultivated until his expulsion in 1906.

On the basis of his ceremonial qualifications too Lomahongyoma began to contend with Lololoma for the Village chief's position. He compared the Blue Flute ritual with the Soyal, rating his ceremony above the Soyal. 106 In the face of these threats to his supremacy there was

457-460.

103 Dorsey and Voth, 1901, p. 9; and Parsons, et al.,

104 Lomahongyoma claimed to have been promised the Oraibi territory by his wuya, Spider Woman. The statements in quotation marks are taken literally from interviews with Tawaqwaptiwa.

Later, when Yokioma replaced Lomahongyoma as the leading Conservative, he too claimed to control Oraibi's land by virtue of his wuya, Masau'u, who was the first

owner of Oraibi.

105 According to Tawaqwaptiwa, such vain and boastful talk was good proof that Lomahongyoma was a genuine descendent of Spider Woman, and a trouble maker (witch) like his ancestress. Cf. Leupp, 1906, p. 130.

106 Lomahongyoma's claims of superiority for the Blue

very little that Lololoma could do. So amorphous is the Hopi "state" that even at this juncture, when his leadership was being openly threatened, there was no mechanism for punishing rebels and no means of carrying out the hereditary Village chief's wishes. In no way is the weakness of a Hopi pueblo's social structure better revealed than in the picture of Lololoma's helplessness when confronted by an outspoken rebel who refused, for the nonce, to be guided by "traditional usage."

As matters now stood, the rival parties were so bitter towards each other that they would not co-operate in one another's ceremonies.<sup>107</sup> Worse still, neither side would permit its opponents to use any of its sacred objects, thus endangering the entire ceremonial cycle of the village. 108 A climax was reached in December, 1896, when Lololoma prepared to hold the Soyal services as usual in Sakwalenvi (Blue Flute kiva), of which the Spider chief was the head. As Lololoma started down the ladder he found the way blocked by his arch rival. "Now I don't think you'll have your Soyal here," said Lomahongyoma. "This is my kiva and not yours. Now take your things and move somewhere else to make your offerings." Lololoma had no alternative, for clan privileges are so incontrovertible that under no condition may they be transcended. Accordingly, Lololoma made no protest, but withdrew to a kiva where he was sure of being made welcome. He transferred his sacred materials to Circle kiva (Pongovi) which was owned by the Water Coyote clan and of which his own father, Kuyingwu, was the head.109

Emboldened by his success in driving Lololoma out of his kiva, Lomahongyoma then took a daring step towards establishing himself firmly as Village chief. He decided to hold a Soyal ceremony of his own. Apart from the lack of traditional sanctions, there was nothing to stand in his way. For years he had participated in Lolo-

Flute ceremony were said to have been made with a view to winning over his opponent's followers, just as Spider Woman's promises had lured many people away from Matcito. To make such claims openly is believed to be a sign of witchcraft.

<sup>107</sup> Compare Dorsey and Voth, 1901, p. 10; and Fewkes, 1895a, p. 280.

<sup>108</sup> See Voth, 1912b, p. 113, footnote 2.

109 On the death of Kuyingwu, leadership of the Pongovi kiva passed to his son-in-law, Talaskwaptiwa, a Sun clansman who had married Lololoma's sister, Pongyanumsi. Through this relationship Talaskwaptiwa was ocloma's Soyal, as a singer he knew all the songs and prayers, and as an officer he had been present throughout the esoteric parts of the ritual and had grown familiar with the altars, fetishes and other paraphernalia employed. Thanks to his thorough knowledge of the procedure, he had only to manufacture duplicate ritual objects to be ready for his first Soyal. The fact that his properties were of recent, secular origin, was more or less neutralized by the circumstance that his performance was being held at the traditional kiva (Sakwalenvi), which was the recognized "home" of the

As soon as Lomahongyoma had proclaimed himself a Soyal chief, all officers and men who had ever been initiated into that ritual were faced with the choice of attending the orthodox services held by the Bear chief at Pongovi, or of taking part in Lomahongyoma's usurped performance at Sakwalenvi. On the basis of his choice. each participant gave positive proof of his affiliation with one side or the other. In this way party lines were sharply drawn, the cleavage between Hostiles and Friendlies was made evident to all the pueblo, and the disintegration of Oraibi received a tremendous impetus.

During the winter of 1897 every Soyal member at Oraibi had to make a final decision. When the competing leaders checked over their followers, it was found that of the six major traditional officers,110 three had remained with Lololoma and three had gone over to Lomahongyoma. On this score honors were even and each side was obliged to appoint three substitute officers, but Lomahongyoma seems to have had a larger following of ordinary members. When Soyal time came, the principal positions in the rival ceremonies were filled as shown in table 4.

To indicate the sociological trends of Oraibi's partition, it may be well to analyze as fully as data permit the kin and clan relationships of the men listed in table 4, and to explain the motives

casionally permitted to act as head of the Soyal, see Parsons, et al., 1922, p. 290, table 2. Talaskwaptiwa renamed the kiva Tawaovi (Place of the Sun) in honor of his own clan. At his death the kiva was repaired by his brother, Oövaveptiwa, who served as its head until he died in 1934. His successor was Talayesva, his sister's son, who is the present kiva chief. Ever since it has housed the Soyal, it has been known as Chief kiva.

110 By "traditional officers" are meant those leaders who had served in the Village chief's Soyal during the period that the ceremony was undisputedly in the control

of the Village chief.

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Elaskwaptiwa (Sun clan) was married to iooloma's sister, Pongyanumsi (Bear clan), and themated as orthodox Soyal chief with Sakhong-youa, Ioololoma's elder brother.<sup>111</sup>

Table 4. Officers in the Rival Soyals, 1897. 112

Postrion Soyal
Soyal chief Talaskwaptiwa
(Sikyamöniwa)
Ye'siwa
(Tangakve'ima)
(Lomankwai'ima)
War chief Qöyangainiwa

SPIDER CLAN
SOYAL
(Lomahongyoma)<sup>118</sup>
Lomanaksu
(Sikyaheptiwa)
Lomayaktiwa
Talaswungniwa
(Masangöntiwa)

Sikyamoniwa (Parrot clan) joined the Bear side because his wife, Yowainim, was sister to maknimptiwa (Masau'u clan), who was the either of Lololoma's acknowledged successor, Tawaqwaptiwa.

Ye'siwa (Pikyas clan) remained orthodox, parily because he was head of the Moenkopi colony which was generally faithful to the Oraibi thief, and partly because his wife, Nuvayonsi (Water Coyote clan), was a clan sister of Lololoma's father.<sup>114</sup>

Tangakve'ima took office in the Bear Soyal because his daughter Nuvayamsi (Lizard clan) was married to Lololoma's own son, Tangakhoniwa (Masau'u clan).

Tomankwai'ima (Greasewood clan) favored the Bear faction because he was the father of Tawaqwaptiwa's wife, Nasingönsi (Parrot clan). Oöyangainiwa (Real Badger clan) stayed in the traditional Soyal because he was married to Lololoma's wife's sister. 115

Momahongyoma, of course, was the founder of the Spider clan's Soyal and had made himself its chief.

Lomanaksu (Parrot clan) had entered the Wuwutcim, and subsequently the Soyal at Sakwalenvi kiva. He seems to have become a Hostile out of genuine convictions, for he de-

<sup>111</sup> See p. 80, footnote 109, and p. 72.

The discussion of the ceremonial split in Dorsey and Voth, 1901, p. 11, is somewhat confusing. It begins with the statement that before 1900 the Soyal had always been held in Sakwalenvi, but later it says that in 1897 the Conservatives had held an independent celebration there with an improvised altar. The latter statement is the more accurate.

For comparative lists of Soyal officers, see Dorsey and Voth, 1901, p. 12; and Parsons, et al., 1922, p. 290. Parsons' lists are incomplete.

serted Lololoma's ceremony in spite of the fact that he was Lololoma's ceremonial (Wuwutcim) father and had given him a Parrot clan name meaning "good," which refers to the pretty feathers of the parrot.<sup>116</sup>

Sikyaheptiwa (Pikyas clan) was made a new officer by Lomahongyoma for reasons which I could not determine. Actually, one would have expected to find him in the opposing camp as his wife, Qötcavatca (Sun clan), became the mistress and later the wife of Yokioma. However, this incident may have occurred after his conversion to the Hostiles.

Lomayaktiwa (Rabbit clan) was closely related to two Conservative leaders through his wife, Masangyamka (Kokop clan). One of her mother's brothers was Patupha, and another was Yokioma.

Talaswungniwa (Greasewood clan) had been initiated into the Wuwutcim at Sakwalenvi and was also a member of Lomahongyoma's Blue Flute ceremony. He seems to have gone over to the Hostiles for ceremonial rather than familial reasons.

Masangöntiwa (Snake clan) had no kinship ties with the Conservative heads, but he was chosen War chief because he was an important religious leader in his own right. He had entered the Wuwutcim at Sakwalenvi, he was a member of Momtcit, and he was chief of the Snake society. I do not know why he was a Hostile.

A check of the Soyal chiefs appointed in 1897 shows that Lololoma's new officers were all related to him, an indication that most of his following was drawn from his relatives. On the other hand, Lomahongyoma's appointment of two substitute leaders who were not related to him indicates that his support was more general. Table 4 also reveals how ceremonial ties serve to cross-cut clan lines, for the Parrot, Pikyas, Rabbit, and Greasewood clans all contributed chiefs to each of the contending factions.

Despite the seriousness of their rivalry, both

114 Yesiwa later divorced Nuvayonsi.

115 Dorsey and Voth, 1901, p. 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> Names of newly appointed substitute officers are given in parentheses.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> Lomanaksu's case requires a little further comment. A review of all the evidence suggests that he was originally a Friendly, not only because he was Lololoma's ceremonial father, but also because he served as Lakon chief in the Progressive cycle of rites. At a later time, he shifted to the Conservatives and allowed the Lakon ceremony to lapse at Oraibi.

sides lived up to the Hopi ideal of peacefulness and the two Soyals were conducted concurrently without open conflict. One incident, however, reveals the underlying bitterness that was generated in the struggle. On the eighth day (totokya) of the ceremony, it is customary for messengers to collect corn from every household and to bring it to the kiva to be "blessed" during the night. When Lololoma's men made the rounds of the village they took particular care to avoid antagonizing anyone by calling indiscriminately at the houses of Conservatives and Progressives alike. Lomahongyoma, on the contrary, sent his messengers only to the homes of Hostiles, and yet they collected more corn than did their opponents. Lololoma's people were greatly distressed and his older brother, Sakhongyoma, felt so bad that he began to cry. At this, Tawaqwaptiwa, who was then a forceful young man, said, "Stop crying, my uncle. You are the one who has been telling us that this was destined to be, and you know that we can't avoid it now that the time has come. So there is no use in crying and feeling upset." Thereupon the old man stopped crying and resumed his prayers and ritual duties.

The success of his Soyal performance encouraged Lomahongyoma to build up a complete cycle of ceremonies. As a nucleus he used those orthodox fetishes, altars, and sacred goods which legitimately belonged to members of his party, 117 but to these he added improvised paraphernalia as needed. If the traditional chieftainship of a ritual belonged to one of his followers, he was kept in office; if not, Lomahongyoma appointed a substitute. 118 So speedily was the program pushed forward, that when the time came for the Powamu celebration in the winter of 1898, the Hostiles were ready to duplicate the Friendlies' performance. However, there was a discrepancy in the

selection of dates, for Lololoma held his ceremony first and Lomahongyoma's was given somewhat later. Inasmuch as the preceding Tribal Initiation rites had been held in the abbreviated, non-initiatory form, Lololoma's Powamu was also short and non-initiatory; 119 but Lomahongyoma conducted his Powamu in the extended form, in order that no time should be lost in initiating the children of his supporters into his Katcina cult. 120 The Bear chief's observances were held in Hotcitcivi kiva, the traditional home of Powamu, but Lomahongyoma was denied the use of this kiva so his performance was given in his own kiva, Sakwalenvi.

Throughout the summer of 1898 Katcina dances were held by both sides, and in mid-summer two Homegoing (Niman) rituals were performed. Lomahongyoma's came first and used Coyote (Is) kiva as a base, and Lololoma's followed with Hawiovi as its center. Later in the summer, when the Snake ritual was to be held, it was found that all the main officers were in the Hostile party. They gave the ceremony in traditional style from Rattlesnake (Tcu) kiva, with the customary co-operation of the Antelope society, most of whose men were also Conservatives. There was no rival celebration, as Lololoma refused to violate orthodox procedure by staging a substitute performance. 121

The next fall, in November 1899, when it was time to perform the Tribal Initiation, Lololoma's men staged their rites a little in advance of Lomahongyoma's celebration, and for the first time an open quarrel took place between the rival groups. The Friendlies at Hawiovi kiva had just terminated their rites and were "resting" for four days, when the Conservatives tried to enter and use the same kiva because it was the regular home of the ceremony. The Conservatives won

<sup>117</sup> Possession of a society's most sacred fetish is the tangible sign of chieftainship, but once an individual has taken office he is regarded as the owner of the fetish, and may dispose of it as he likes. The accompanying rites are held entirely at his pleasure.

118 Insofar as possible, Lomahongyoma tried to have his substitutions conform to traditional ideas by selecting men from the same clans or phratries which had always owned the offices in question.

<sup>119</sup> All major rituals at Oraibi may be given in short or extended forms, and the performance of the Tribal Initiation controls the form of most of the rites that follow.

Nequatewa, 1936, pp. 64, 65, relates a similar story of ceremonial dualism during the 1906 Powamu at Shungopovi. There too the Hostile faction selected a later date

and trouble arose when they refused to conceal their kivagrown bean plants from the other party's uninitiated children. No such trouble was reported for Oraibi.

Powamu is given in its initiatory form. Lomahongyoma made a shrewd move when he held his Powamu in the extended form, because he thus secured firmly on his side all the children who were initiated under his auspices.

<sup>121</sup> Since the Snake ceremony alternates with the Flute, no Flute rites were scheduled for the summer of 1898. When the Flute ceremony fell due the next year, the Blue Flutes were with Lomahongyoma and the Gray Flutes were on Lololoma's side. Instead of performing jointly, as is ordinarily done, each society gave an independent performance.

by driving out the Friendlies, but in viried the same tactics at Singers' (Tao) ololoma's followers pulled up the kiva denied them entrance. The Hostiles midrew to a new kiva, Kiacsuckiva (Par-1) which had recently been built by a Conmember of the Tao society. in order December, 1899, two Soyal performances the chill re held again, and from then until 1906 two lt.120 The ceremonial cycles were conducted anotcitcivi light lable 5 lists the principal officers on both it Loma. a so his **"**(3) iva, Sak TIBLE 3. CEREMONIAL OFFICERS AT ORAIBI, ABOUT 1899-1906. Katcina. LOLOLOMA LOMAHONGYOMA OTHER ONLY inid-sum-(Lomahongyoma)124 Sakhongyoma Zere per-心门 (Bear) (Spider) and used Talaskwaptiwa (Sun) 123 ma's fol-Si'ima (Badger) (Napkuiva) in the Qömahöniwa (Rabbit) be held. (Badger) Nasingyamptiwa (Sikyave'ima) e in the Krain (Masau'u) (Reed) in tra-Lomaleohtiwa a, with (Masau'u) lope so-Tanakhongniwa Qötcventiwa (Bow) (Bow)125 inserva-Nasiwaitiwa (Bow) ololoma Talasnöngtiwa (Pitcangwu) staging (Kele) (Crane) Talangnakyoma (Napkuiva)128 (Katcina or Parrot) (Rabbit) Masawistiwa (Katcina or Parrot) Kuktiwa (Snake) Masangöntiwa<sup>127</sup> (Snake) Masaiyamptiwa (Spider) Duvengötiwa (Spider) Blue Flute Masaiyamptiwa (Spider) Lomahongyoma (Spider) Gray Flute Kelyamptiwa (Pikyas or Patki) Lomahongva (Patki) Marau Qötcnumsi (Lizard) Kuwanvikwaiya (Lizard) Oaqöl Qöyangösi (Sand) Kelnimptiwa (Sand) Lakon Kuwanyamka (Parrot) Lomanaksu (Parrot)128

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122 The Tao, Al, Kwan, and Wuwutcim societies are known jointly as Wuwutcim and hold their rites concurrently. Their combined performances make up the Tribal Initiation.

About a decade after the Hostiles had attempted to murder him and to declare war on the United States troops, Lololoma died. To succeed him he had selected and trained Tawaqwaptiwa, one of his sisters' sons. (See pl. II c.). It is the opinion of some of the old Hopi that Tawagwaptiwa was chosen in preference to his older brothers because he was young and impetuous, and Lololoma evidently had hoped that he would be energetic enough to bring matters to a head and so end the incessant bickering at Oraibi. 129 Tawaqwaptiwa became Village chief in 1901 or 1902; 130 and coincidentally, Lomahongyoma began to take a less active part in the direction of Hostile affairs, while Yokioma (Kokop) came forward as the head of the Conservatives. Yokioma's policy was one of vigorous opposition to the introduction of American ideas, and he insisted that the Kokop clan would never submit to "the new ways taught by these white men of the Government."131

With the advent on both sides of forceful and uncompromising leaders, it was not long before a major crisis occurred. To swell their ranks, the Conservatives had invited a Hostile faction from Second Mesa to migrate to Oraibi. Led by Tawahongniwa, of the Bluebird clan, 132 a party of about

128 Where two names are given for the same office it means that the two men alternated as chiefs.

124 The personal names in parentheses are those of nontraditional chiefs.

125 The real Al paraphernalia were said to have been retained by the Progressives, but parts were later transferred to the Hostiles.

126 Napkuiva seems to have held two important offices under Lomahongyoma. He was Powamu chief as well as the Tao leader.

127 Both Kuktiwa and Masangöntiwa had traditional claims to the Snake chieftainship. The orthodox Snake materials were used for a time by Masangöntiwa, but were later given back to the other side. The ceremony was then abandoned at Oraibi and the paraphernalia were later turned over to Puhunimptiwa, of the Lizard clan, who revived the Snake ritual at Hotevilla. See p. 209.

128 In table 4, Lomanaksu is given as a member of the Hostile Soyal, but here he is listed as a Friendly. See p. 81, footnote 116. In all likelihood Lomanaksu had served in the Friendly cycle of rites for several years before he joined the Conservatives.

129 Crane, 1926, pp. 86, 87, describes Tawaqwaptiwa as "The most negatively contentious savage and unreconstructed rebel . . . in the Oraibi community.'

180 Nequatewa, 1936, p. 108, footnote 41, says, "Lololoma died some time after the smallpox epidemic about 1901.

181 Crane, 1926, p. 166.

122 Tawahongniwa was a Shipaulovi Hostile who had moved to Chimopovy and joined the Conservative party

thirty people came from Chimopovy and settled at Oraibi in the fall of 1904.183 Tawaqwaptiwa tried to refuse them admittance, but Lomahongyoma, his brother Lomayestiwa, and perhaps Yokioma, 134 disregarded his commands and brought the Second Mesa settlers into the village. Lomahongyoma even went so far in carrying out his pretensions to Oraibi's chieftainship as to give the new arrivals permission to build houses within the pueblo, and to assign them farms on land claimed by the Bear clan. 135 Inasmuch as the year 1904 had been marked by a severe drought, Tawaqwaptiwa protested that the influx of additional householders would cause increased food and water shortages,136 but the Hostiles paid no attention to him as they no longer recognized him as Village chief.

Throughout 1905 Tawaqwaptiwa made several unsuccessful attempts to send the Chimopovy people back to Second Mesa, and in 1906 he went to Keam's Canyon to make an official complaint to the Superintendent, Mr. Theodore G. Lemmon. Mr. Lemmon agreed to help Tawaqwaptiwa and authorized him to tear down the houses and destroy the crops of the immigrants, <sup>137</sup> but this he dared not do. Instead, he called a meeting of his followers and they agreed that another attempt should be made to drive the Chimopovy group out of Oraibi. Although no action was taken at the time, the incident served to heighten the ever-rising tension in the village.

The first serious clash occurred in the summer of 1906, while the Conservatives were celebrating their Homegoing (Niman) dance. The Hemis Katcina was being impersonated, and as the dancers were going down one of the village streets they were stopped by Loma'asniwa, a Friendly from the Sand clan who frequently served as father of the Katcinas for his party. He made a speech accusing the Hostile faction of misbehaving, but then stepped aside and allowed the

there a few years before he came to Oraibi. On Second Mesa, the Bluebird clan is in the same phratry as Bear and Spider. Third Mesa has no Bluebird people but ascribes that clan, in theory, to Phratry II which consists of the Bear and Spider clans.

133 The leaders of the Chimopovy group were, in addition to Tawahongniwa, his four sons, Humiyesva, Lomawuna, "Washington" Talayamptiwa, and "Rutherford" Duvewai'ima, all of the Sun's Forehead clan; Sikyayamptiwa of the Eagle clan; and Talawisyoma of the Carrying-Strap clan of Second Mesa which is in the Bear-Spider-Bluebird phratry. See Nequatewa, 1936, p. 111, note 49.

Nequatewa, 1936, pp. 64, 65, gives the year 1906 as

Katcinas to file into the plaza for the final dance formation of the day's performance. Tawaqwaptiwa, who preferred not to watch the ceremonies of his enemies, was at his mother's house when the Katcinas were stopped. A short time later he was visited by Sakhongniwa (Katcina clan) and Sikyayestiwa (Greasewood clan), two of his supporters, who urged him to lead another stand against Lomahongyoma's dancers. At first the chief refused to sanction such a move, but later he consented grudgingly, as he feared that the same agitators who were now on his side might later turn against him.

Tawaqwaptiwa was still in an uncertain frame of mind when he and his advisers approached the dance plaza. As the Katcinas began to move towards the shrine where they usually disrobed after a Niman performance, Loma'asniwa said to the chief, "Now block them up! Step in front of them! We don't have to hurt the Katcinas, but let's block them up!" Thus did his followers wait for Tawaqwaptiwa to make the first hostile move, although he had not originated the plan and was not in full sympathy with it. Nevertheless, he stepped into the path of the dancers, and Loma'asniwa called out to the Conservative officers in the performance, "Now we don't think we will let you take your Katcina friends to their real home (shrine). You will have to find another place for sending your Katcinas home."

To this, one of the Hostile leaders replied, "We must go to the right place to send our Katcinas home."

"No," countered Loma'asniwa, "We won't let you take your Katcinas to their real home. You'll have to find another place." Thereupon the opposing Katcina father turned and led the dancers to another shrine—one not traditionally associated with the Homegoing dance. Then insults were exchanged by onlookers from the two factions, and in the midst of the quarrelling,

the date of the Chimopovy migration, but Oraibi informants agreed on 1904. Leupp, 1906, p. 129, wrote in that year that the migration had occurred "A good while ago...." Hence 1904 is probably the correct date.

<sup>134</sup> See Nequatewa, 1936, p. 65.

135 See p. 61.

136 Tawaqwaptiwa is supported on this point by the

statement in Leupp, 1906, p. 129.

137 Since Tawaqwaptiwa was personally relating this episode, it is hard to tell exactly what advice he received from Mr. Lemmon. Tawaqwaptiwa seriously believed that Lemmon had promised him government aid in expelling the Hostiles, but in a later conference Leupp disillusioned him. See Leupp, 1906, p. 127.

the chief returned home, greatly disturbed because he had taken the advice of his hot-headed

followers.

A few days later the Progressives staged their Homegoing dance, and although there was no interference on the part of the Conservatives, the subdued enmity of the two parties was so great that each side felt that a climax would quickly he reached; and from then on regular meetings were held to prepare for the coming test of strength. Tawaqwaptiwa believed that since the Snake dance was soon to be performed, it would not do to start a disturbance in the presence of white visitors, so he selected the third day after the ceremony for the long-deferred attempt to expel the Chimopovy group. In anticipation of the struggle, he sent word to his Moenkopi colony, nearly all of which was on his side, urging the men to come to Oraibi in time to help him.

In 1906 only the Hostiles were celebrating the Snake rites, and in order to gain time they delaved the date from the usual period late in August to September 5,138 thus making September 8 the fateful day on which open hostilities were supposed to break out. 139 On the night of September 6, both sides held meetings and laid plans for the coming encounter. The Hostiles met at the house of Nakwave'ima140 (Eagle clan), and Tawaqwaptiwa wrapped himself in a blanket and went to spy on them. He managed to get near enough to overhear some of the speakers, but the house was so crowded that he could not identify all those who were present. Among the leaders he recognized Yokioma and Nakwave'ima, Tawahongniwa and his associates from Chimopovy, and two other Oraibi men, Nakwayauoma141 (Gray Badger clan) and Qöyahöniwa (Sand clan). Tawaq-

waptiwa did not hear Lomahongyoma's voice, and it may be that he was not present at the meeting.142

Somehow, Tawaqwaptiwa does not know in what way, the Hostiles were well informed of his plans for trying to expel their Second Mesa allies, for he heard them advising each other to remain seated so that the first overt move would have to be made by the Progressives. Tawaqwaptiwa also overheard Nakwave'ima cautioning his hearers not to lay violent hands on the Oraibi chief. "Our plan is not to hurt anyone," Nakwave'ima was saying. "If some one from their side goes crazy and kills a person it's their fault, but we don't mean to kill anyone. But let us take our weapons so that we can defend ourselves if necessary."143

At this point Tawaqwaptiwa, fearing detection, returned to his own house. Here his own supporters had assembled, including the Moenkopi men who had responded to his call for help. The chief reported what he had heard at the Hostile gathering, and he too advised that there be no bloodshed and as little physical violence as possible. Several other men then spoke to the same effect, and all present agreed to keep their tempers under control and refrain from murder. Just then a Government official<sup>144</sup> arrived at the house and after a brief conference with Tawaqwaptiwa, he suggested that Yokioma be approached peacefully and asked to leave Oraibi without making a disturbance.145 The official warned that if there were violence the troops would be sent "to wipe out both sides."

All night long the two factions deliberated, and by morning the Progressives had decided on their plan of action—they would start to drive

188 Forrest, 1929, p. 281, helps fix the exact date. In 1906 Forrest heard that the Snake dance was postponed "on account of factional differences," and that it would be given on September 5. He himself saw the foot race

189 Something must have gone wrong with the original plan, for Leupp, 1906, pp. 128, 129, specifically gives September 7 as the day on which the conflict ultimately

took place.

140 Nakwave'ima was very active in the Hostile cause, partly because his daughter, Nakwayesnim (Sand), was married to Lomahongyoma's sister's son, Poliwuhioma (Spider). Thus Nakwave'ima and Poliwuhioma had married into the same Sand household and lived together in two of the adjacent Sand houses shown on chart VII.

141 Nakwayauoma was a Conservative although he was the husband of Tawaqwaptiwa's sister, Talashongsi

142 Despite his position as leader of the Hostiles, Lomahongyoma seems to have tried to avoid an issue that might have resulted in a forced exodus from Oraibi.

143 It is interesting to note that so pacific are the Hopi by tradition that even in reporting the words of his worst enemies Tawaqwaptiwa admitted that they were trying as hard as his own side to avoid shedding blood.

Nevertheless, according to Leupp, 1906, p. 129, both sides planned to use arms until dissuaded by Government employees.

Tawaqwaptiwa could not recall the name of his visitor, but it was probably Leupp, Leupp, 1906, p. 129.

146 This is the first time that the chief's narrative indicated a desire to expel Yokioma and the Oraibi Hostiles as well as the Chimopovy settlers. For a comparative account of this series of events see Nequatewa, 1936, pp. 66-68, et passim; and also Parsons, 1939, pp. 1134-1136.

out the Chimopovy group and if the Hostiles interfered they would turn on them and force them to leave for the north, for Kawestima, where the ancestors of the Spider clan had left the Spider Woman when they went to seek out the Bear clan's settlement at Oraibi. Immediately after breakfast, Chief Tawaqwaptiwa led his followers to the home of Nakwave'ima.146 His men urged him to refrain from active participation,147 and with this understanding they marched into the house and ordered the Chimopovy group to leave Oraibi and to return to Second Mesa. The Hostiles refused to budge, tenaciously remaining seated as they had agreed to do during the previous night's discussion. After some argument, the Friendlies seized one or two of the Chimopovy men and began to evict them forcibly. In the scuffle some of the Conservatives tried to aid their friends, whereupon their opponents shouted, "They're helping the Chimopovy people, now we can drive them all to Kawestima." A man named Sikyahongva then grabbed Yokioma "and just slung him out of the door,"148 after which a general scrimmage followed. For several hours the rough and tumble lasted, and by late afternoon on September 7, 1906, the two sides found themselves facing each other on the level ground just outside the northwest corner of the pueblo. Yokioma shouted to his followers, and both sides paused to hear what he had to say. With his big toe trailing in the sand, the Hostile leader drew a line running east and west. To the north of it, facing south towards Oraibi, he grouped his own men, while the Friendlies clustered together south of the line with their backs to the village. Then Yokioma announced the manner

in which Oraibi's fate was finally to be settled "If your men," he said to Tawaqwaptiwa, "are strong enough to push us away from the village and to pass me over the line, it will be done. But if we pass you over the line, it will not be done. and we will have to live here."149 Without more ado, Yokioma placed himself on the line, facing Oraibi; beside him stood Tawahongniwa, leader of the Chimopovy party; and behind them their followers were ranged ready to push them towards the pueblo. Face to face with Yokioma stood Humihongniwa of the Water Coyote clan,150 and behind him there lined up all the men on the Progressive side. Humihongniwa placed his hands on Yokioma's shoulders, and the struggle was on. With his own people at his back shoving him towards the village, and with the enemy in front pushing him away from Oraibi. poor Yokioma was badly mauled. Forward and back went the opposing groups until at last Yokioma was conclusively forced well over the line, towards the north, away from the town.151 Oraibi's fate was decided; the Hostiles would leave the village! As soon as he could speak, Yokioma said, "Well, it has to be this way. Now that you have passed me over this line, it is done."152 The victorious Tawaqwaptiwa gave his defeated rivals permission to take food, bedding and whatever personal belongings they could carry with them, and towards sundown Yokioma began his exodus, walking slowly towards the north with his people.

That night the Hostiles made camp at Hotevilla, a place seven miles north of Oraibi, where there were known to be excellent springs. Had they followed their legendary beliefs literally,

146 Some informants said that the skirmish began at Yokioma's house. For a comparative account of the succeeding events, see Leupp, 1906, pp. 129, 130.

147 Tawaqwaptiwa claims that his men were trying to shield him from violence, but his opponents argue that he was afraid to take an active part. See Nequatewa, 1936, p. 66.

148 Nequatewa, 1936, p. 66.

149 The line drawn by Yokioma was supposed to represent the Colorado river, and the position of his men indicated that if they were pushed away from the direction of Oraibi, they would go north to Kawestima near the Colorado river.

The manner of action decided on by Yokioma was a form of divination to determine whether the moment had come when the Spider Woman's descendants were to draw the Bear chief's followers away from Oraibi.

150 Humihongniwa was one of the Moenkopi men who had answered the chief's call for help. The Water Coyote

clan is one of the military clans as it is in the same phratry as Kokop and shares with it the ownership of Masau'u and the Little War Twins as wuya. Thus two phratry brothers faced each other as Oraibi literally split into halves. Tawaqwaptiwa was again asked to stay out of violent action.

151 Some say that Yokioma was forced over the line four times, but this is a conventional number in all rites and tales and cannot be taken as specific.

152 Near the scene of the conflict a memorial of the event is inscribed on a flat rock. It shows a figure of Masau'u (wuya of Yokioma's Kokop clan), several bear's claw designs to indicate Tawaqwaptiwa's clan, and a line running roughly east and west. The legend reads, "Well it have to be this way now that when you pass me over this line it will be DONE." It is dated September 8, 1906.

At Oraibi the inscription is said to have been made by Silena (Masau'u clan), but it is ascribed to Poli (Payestiwa) in Nequatewa, 1936, pp. 108, 109, note 46.

hey would have moved far to the north of this point in due time, but the leaders evidently decided to make a permanent settlement here, and Horevilla became the site of a Conservative pueblo which now overshadows its parent village in every respect.

A short time after the split troops arrived at Oraibi,153 and after finding out the details of the hate conflict they proceeded to Hotevilla, taking Coin Humiventiwa (Greasewood clan) as an interpreter and guide.154 Coin identified the Chimopovy people at Hotevilla and the soldiers rounded them up and dispatched them to Second Mesa without any show of resistance. Yokioma and several other Hostile leaders were taken off to jail, thus depriving the newly-founded settlement of many able-bodied men at a time when their help was desperately needed. 155 While the Conservatives were in distress, working feverishly to build shelters before winter came, 156 the Progressives celebrated their victory at Oraibi by holding a Butterfly dance "which had the significance of an earlier scalp dance that used to be performed after a successful raid, and in which the songs ridiculed the Hotevilla folk as though they were defeated enemies."157

The splitting of Oraibi into halves affords a unique opportunity for an inspection of the inner workings of a pueblo's social organization, and a study of the kin, clan, and ceremonial affiliations of the members of both factions should reveal the strong and the weak aspects of Hopi society, and should throw into sharp contrast the units that survived and those that collapsed as Oraibi disintegrated. To understand the dynamics of the situation we must now examine Oraibi's partition in detail.

Numerically, the Friendlies and Hostiles were about equal. Loo Counting together all the people ever attributed to one party or the other by various informants, we find that Lololoma and Tawa-

188 Nequatewa, 1936, p. 110, footnote 50.

Quoted directly from an interview with Otto Loma-

qwaptiwa had on their side 201 men and 190 women, or 391 followers in all;159 whereas

Table 6. Friendlies and Hostiles at Oraibi, 1906.

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Phra-		]1	Friend	llies		Hostiles			
try	Clan	ਰਾ	\$	To- tal		ę	To- tal		
I	Rabbit Katcina Parrot	17 4 7	4	8	6 0 7		1		
II	Bear Spider	6			1 11	1 12	2 23		
111	Sand Snake Lizard	7 2 11	5 1 6	12 3 17	19 2 12	11 0 9	30 2 21		
IV	Sun Eagle	14	13	27 3	8	5	13 11		
v	Greasewood Bow Reed	17 6 3	9 2 10	26 8 13	11 1 10	15 0 13	26 1 23		
VI	Masau'u Real Coyote Water Coyote Kokop Le Cedar	14 13 8 0 0	23 13 8 0 0	37 26 16 0 0	0 4 14 7 6 0	0 4 15 7 3 0	0 8 29 14 9 0		
VII	Real Badger Gray Badger Navaho Badger Butterfly	9 5 0	4 0 6 1	13 5 6 1	9 12 1 1	4 3 1 0	13 15 2 1		
VIII	Pikyas Patki Siva'ap	9 11 2	12 6 1	21 17 3	7 4 0	0 4 0	7 8 0		
ıx	Chicken Hawk Crane Squash	3 1 1	4 1 0	7 2 1	1 1 3	0 0 2	1 1 5		
	Totals	172	152	324	164	134	298		

vitu (Rabbit clan), one of the most fluent English-speaking, Christian Hopi at New Oraibi. The dance is mentioned in Nequatewa, 1936, p. 72.

159 The Oraibi Friendlies' figures include their Moenkopi supporters throughout the present analysis, as Moenkopi co-operated closely with Oraibi's chief, and the entire colony was Friendly.

<sup>154</sup> According to Third Mesa informants, Coin used to act as interpreter for Lololoma. He is now living at New Oraibi where he serves as Crier chief, an office traditionally held in his clan (Greasewood).

<sup>156</sup> Compare Nequatewa, 1936, p. 111, notes 53, 54.
156 In order to help the expelled faction, the Indian Agent at Keam's Canyon urged the Oraibi chief and his followers to permit the Hostiles to remove some of their belongings under carefully stipulated regulations. The terms of this arrangement are given in the Appendix, under the heading "Statement and Agreement."

<sup>158</sup> The raw figures which are used throughout this part of the discussion were obtained in the course of the census of Oraibi that has already been described on p. 51. Concerning each individual, questions were asked regarding Hostile or Friendly sympathies and action taken in 1906. All the statistics are approximate.

Lomahongyoma and Yokioma counted 208 men and 179 women, a total of 387 adherents. <sup>160</sup> Before their struggle reached a climax the Friendlies lost 67, and the Hostiles 89 members through death. Consequently, when the two sides faced each other on September 7, 1906, there were 324 Progressives opposed to 298 Conservatives. These were distributed by clans as given in table 6. <sup>161</sup>

Even a hasty glance at table 6 shows at once that the split did not proceed entirely along clan lines, since each side drew followers from nearly every group in the village. Only those clans with which the main leaders were affiliated tended to act as units. Thus we find that 8 out of the 10 Bear people had joined the cause led by their clansmen Lololoma and Tawaqwaptiwa; that the Masau'u clan to which Lololoma's wife, Nakwavenka, and their seven children belonged, was entirely Friendly; and that the Katcina clan was completely Progressive through its close tie with the Parrot clan to which Tawawqaptiwa's wife, Nasingönsi, belonged. 162 Similarly, all of Lomahongyoma's Spider people and all of Yokioma's Kokop clanmates are to be found among the Conservatives; and the Water Coyote clan of which Lomahongyoma's wife, Qötcyamka, was a member, also favored the Hostiles by 29 to 16.163 Hence, five of the principal clans involved in Oraibi's partition were Bear and Masau'u versus Spider, Kokop, and Water Coyote. A significant line of cleavage is revealed when we note their phratry bonds, for Bear opposed Spider from within Phratry II; and Masau'u, opposed Kokop and Water Coyote from within Phratry VI. Here then is a convincing demonstration of the weakness of phratry ties in Hopi society.

A question regarding clan lines comes next to mind. If the clans are such firmly bound, cohesive groups as has been previously suggested, why did so few of them act as units? The answer is found

<sup>160</sup> The data on Hostiles at Oraibi do not include the Chimopovy settlers who lived there temporarily. Informants at work on the census did not regard them as part of Oraibi's population.

165 Moenkopi statistics are incorporated with those of Oraibi's Friendlies. For a separate study of Moenkopi

affiliations, see table 7.

162 It would have been closer to expectations if the Parrot clan were undivided, but, as we have shown on p. 81, even Lololoma's ceremonial father, Lomanaksu (Parrot), threw in his lot with the Hostiles. Nevertheless, Katcina is very close to Parrot, and the two are not infrequently confused.

TABLE 7. MOENKOPI FRIENDLIES, 1906.164

	1 1		l 1	
Phratry	Clan	Men	Women	Total
	Rabbit	3	3	6
I	Katcina	0	0 1	0
	Parrot	2	1	3
II	Bear	0	0	0
11	Spider	0	0	0
	Sand	0	0	0
, III	Snake	0	0	0
	Lizard	3	4	7
IV	Sun	1	4	5 2
1 V	Eagle	2	0_	2
	Greasewood	4	2	6
V	Bow	0	0	0
	Reed	2	7	9
	Masau'u	2	1	3
.**	Real Coyote	2 2 5	5	7
VI	Water Coyote	5	4	9
**	Kokop	0	0	0
	Le	0	0	0
<del></del>	Cedar	0	0	0
	Real Badger	0	0	0
VII	Gray Badger	2	0	2
V	Navaho Badger	0	0	0
	Butterfly	0	0	0
	Pikyas	5	5	10
VIII	Patki	2	0	2
	Siva'ap	0	0	0
	Chicken Hawk	0	0	0
IX	Crane	0	0	0
	Squash	0	0	0
	Totals	35	36	71

to lie primarily in the workings of exogamy and matrilocal residence which disperse the male members of a clan among numerous unrelated households. It follows inevitably that in the case

163 The Water Coyote group was divided because some of its members were Hostiles through the influence of Lomahongyoma's wife, but others supported the Friendlies through relationship with Kuyingwu, Lololoma's fether

Yokioma's wife had no influence in swaying her clanmates as did the spouses of the other leaders, because at the height of the trouble he was giving up his first wife, Kuwankwapnim (Greasewood), and carrying on an intrigue with his second, Qötcavatca (Sun).

184 This table deals only with Friendlies who had already moved to Oraibi's Moenkopi colony prior to the

split in 1906.

11	٠ .		1	1	í	1	ı	1	1	ı	1	ı	
	Miscellaneous	1 Gray Flute	1 Soyal	2 Soyal	1 Snake 1 Soyal			1 Soyal		1 Soyal 2 Gray Flute	4 Gray Flute	14	
(women)	Рожати		46				-		1			=	
<u>ځ</u>	Lakon	4	-4	-	-	-	7	94-1		42=	4-1	39	
	lõpsO	<b>e</b> c			2 1	7-1	4 6	12 v-	e 21	-110	77	67	
	Marau	4	31	2	1 2	4	577	200	- 4	80 M	-	51	
	Miscellaneous	(1 Tob. Chief	1 Oaqsi		3 Oaqöl 3 Marau		1 Oaq81	1 Soyal War Chief				111	
ľ	osT	-	ოო						<b>-</b>			12	
	IA	-					88		ဗ	77		22	
	Kwan	-	-		1 1			44	#		-	13	lapse.
	Momtcit	-	~		7	1		9	1			11	ship to
	Powamu	S	ww		2	-		6	<b>80 F</b> 7			32	pe society as a young man, but later allowed his membership to lapse. to Gray Flute.
(Men)	Gray Flute	60	•	2	-	1	1	e	2	2.55		24	red his
S	Blue Flute				1		7			11		4	er allov
	Antelope			-						-		2	, but lat
	Snake	2		2	44	4	1	7	1	-	1	20	ng man
	Missuww.W ivoswaT	6	-	4	-	0	*			1		20	s a you
,	Muwutcim ivoiwaH	4	-		4 1	2	421	E 22 =		မ		35	ociety a
	Wuwutcim Sakwalenvi	-		E		-	2	777	3	1		22	telope s
	Wuwutcim Hano	-			m	-	-	1		-	-	٥	the Ant
	Muwutcim Tcu				-					-		7	joined
	Clan	Rabbit	Katcina Parrot	Bear Spider	Sand Snake Lizard	Sun Eagle	Greasewood Bow Reed	Masau'u Real Coyote Water Coyote Kokop Le Cedar	Real Badger Gray Badger Navaho Badger Butterfly	Pikyas Patki Siva'ap	Chicken Hawk Crane Squash	Totals	<ul> <li>Chief Tawaqwaptiwa joined the Antelor</li> <li>After the split, this individual switched</li> </ul>
	hratry	Н		Ħ	目	A	>	I,	им	ми	Ħ		15 ¥

phe, this manners is smaller to the contract of the Chart VIII. Ceremonial Affiliations of Oraibi Friendlies.

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	Miscellaneous	1 Antelope	1 Soyal	10 B. Flute, 1 Soyal		1 Snake, 1 Antelope		1 Blue Flute				1 Antelope		17
(Women)	рожати	-	2			·					7 T			2
K)	Lakon	20	4		4		1	60	S	12		9		44
	löpsO	9	3	•	11	2	1	01	9	10		3.7	1	65
	ивтаМ	4		4	4	4	31	3	16	9.60	1		1	25
	Miscellaneous	(1 Masau'u 1 Katcina Chief	2 Lakon								1 Marau 1 Lakon			9
	osT	-	-	1	2		1			88	<b>80</b>			21
	IA	-	7	-	•	-	1 2	-	1	8-8	- 0	4-1		36
	Кwал				3	4		_	7	-	6	2		16
	Momtcit	2		9	4	-	7			11.01	-	1		59
	Ромати	2	4		-		-	-	i	-	15 15			32
(Men)	Gray								-					-
	Flute	-	7	12		- i			3.	111	<b>.</b>	-	.=	42
	Antelope	-		4	-		2			7 17		#	<b>.</b>	4
	<b>З</b> паке	-		-	,	721			8					32
	Wuwutcim Tawaovi	   												0
	Wuwutcim IvoiwaH		1		3		-	2		77-77	1			20
	Wuwutcim Sakwalenvi	2	7	٥	3	<b>-</b>	*	7	ဗ	844	77 -		-	37
	Wuwutcim									-		1		7
	Wuwutcim Tcu	1			,	44		2	٣	W4m4	7 7		2	31
	Clan	Rabbit	Katcina Parrot	Bear Spider	Sand	Snake	Sun Eagle	Greasewood	Reed	Masau'u Real Coyote Water Coyote Kokop Le	Real Badger Gray Badger Navaho Badger Butterfly	Pikyas Patki Siva'ap	Chicken Hawk Crane Squash	Totals
	Phratry	ı		Ħ	Ħ		ž.	>		VI	VII	VIII	ដ	

This individual had probably joined the Gray Flute prior to the split of 1906.

CHART IX. CEREMONIAL AFFILIATIONS OF ORAIBI HOSTILES.

					·		(Men)							(Women	) <b>•</b>
Phratry	Clan	Wuwutcim Hano	Wutuwcim Sakwalenvi	Wuwutcim Hawiovi	Wuwutcim Tawaovi	Snake	Gray Flute	Powamu	Montcit	Кwan	Aı	Tao	Marau	Oaqól	Lakon
I	Rabbit Katcina			2				<del></del>	-	1	- €		3	3	- 13 2
III	Sand Lizard			1	3	1	2					1	1 1 2	3	
IV	Sun			1	2				1	ļ		1	II	1	1
v	Greasewood Reed	2		6	3	1	1			<del> </del>			5	1 3	1
VI	Masau'u Real Coyote Water Coyote	2	1 1	2 3 4	2	1	1	2	1 2	1	1		2 1	6 3	2
VII	Real Badger		1			<u> </u>							3	2	1
VIII	Pikyas Patki	1	1	1 1	3								5	1 	
IX	Crane						3		1			. 2	1	1	2 1
	Totals	6	4	22	13	4	7			2		<u> </u>	30	32	1 12

<sup>\* 3</sup> Katcina and 2 Real Badger women were in Powamu.

CHART X. MOENKOPI MEMBERS OF ORAIBI CEREMONIES.

showed a strong inclination for going into the Wuwutcim at Sakwalenvi which was owned by Lomahongyoma;<sup>171</sup> and as a second preference they joined the Wuwutcim at Tcu (Rattlesnake) kiva, whose head man, Masangöntiwa (Snake clan), acted as Snake society chief in the Conservative ceremonial cycle. Membership in several other ceremonies also shows a clear dichotomy. The Gray Flute had 24 Progressives to one Conservative because its chief, Lomahongva (Patki), was a staunch Friendly; but in the Blue Flute, Antelope, and Momtcit societies, which were owned entirely or in part by the Spider people, Hostiles predominated in the proportions of 42 to 4, 14 to 2, and 29 to 17, respectively.

Ceremonial bonds cross-cut clan ties as can be readily demonstrated by a study of the Flute societies, with the Gray Flute representing the Progressives and the Blue Flute standing for the Conservatives. The membership of the Gray Flute was made up of men from 13 different clans, and the Blue Flutes were drawn from 15 clans, with the Rabbit, Bear, Greasewood, and Patki clans contributing members to each of the rival ceremonies.<sup>172</sup>

<sup>171</sup> Sixteen Progressives are listed as belonging to the Wuwutcim at Sakwalenvi. In most cases this implies that they had joined prior to the start of Oraibi's schism. Sometimes these men transferred to another kiva, and sometimes they gave the ceremony up.

The Flute membership lists again indicate the tendency for phratries to divide. In Phratry VI, 3 Real Coy-

If I may be permitted to add to the statistical data the impressions gained in the field and in the frequent handling of the raw material, I should say that the division of Oraibi proceeded somewhat as follows. First, the chiefs of the Bear and Spider clans, finding their phratry affiliations too weak to hold them together in the face of disputes over land and other strong differences of opinion, began a struggle for the control of the pueblo. Second, the members of their own clans quickly sided with their leaders. Third, the men of the conflicting clans brought into their respective parties their wives and children, thus emphasizing household ties and beginning to break up clan cohesion. The most important results of this step were to link the Masau'u clan with the Bear through the influence of Lololoma's wife; and to join the Water Coyote and the Spider clans on the basis of Lomahongyoma's marriage to a Water Coyote woman. Another notable consequence of conjugal fidelity was the addition of the Kokop clan to the Conservative faction.173 Fourth, the women of the five leading clans in the struggle generally induced their husbands and other household relatives to join

otes and one Masau'u are Gray Flute; and 11 Water Coyotes and 2 Kokops are Blue Flute. Also, in Phratry VII, 2 Real Badgers are Gray Flute while 2 Gray Badgers and 2 Navaho Badgers are Blue Flute. See charts VIII and IX for these and similar cases.

<sup>178</sup> Lomahongyoma's uncle and nephew, both of whom were Spider men, were married to Kokop wives.

nell cause, thus breaking down clan ties still Tifth, those men who were not closely elated to the leaders either through descent or marriage made their choice of sides on the basis their most cherished ceremonial connections; or, with the establishment by the Hostiles of a full ceremonial cycle to rival that of the Friendies, all the villagers were forced to declare themselves unequivocally on one side or the other. Sixth when this stage was reached the original clash between Hostiles and Friendlies resolved itself into a struggle between the participants in the Soider-led ceremonies and those in the Bearcontrolled rituals. Seventh, wives and unmarried children tended to follow the leads of husbands and fathers. Eighth, after the entire populace had been divided, a climax occurred when the Friendlies expelled the Hostiles from Oraibi on September 7, 1906.174

Not long after they had celebrated their victory over the Conservatives, the Progressives were called upon to demonstrate their receptiveness to Americanism in a somewhat startling manner. Word came to Oraibi that Tawaqwaptiwa was to be deprived of his chieftainship temporarily, until he had gone to school and acquired a knowledge of the English language and American customs.175 Arrangements were made to take the chief and Frank Siemptiwa, with their wives, and about twenty children, to Sherman Institute at Riverside, California. Tawaqwaptiwa, who was then in his thirties, did not relish the idea of going to school and protested that his recently torn village had not yet had time to readjust itself, but his complaints went unheeded and he was taken to Riverside in October 1906. In his absence, it was decreed by Francis E. Leupp, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, that Oraibi was to be "governed by a commission consisting of the teacher in charge of the day school, who shall preside, the old judge who represents the friendly faction<sup>176</sup> ... and a judge chosen from the hostile faction... "177 Leupp's arrangement was nominally accepted by Tawaqwaptiwa, but before leaving for California he put his brother, Bert Fredericks (Sakwaitiwa), in charge, and friction soon developed between "Judge" Qöyangainiwa and Bert Fredericks.

Meantime the Hostiles were in great distress at Hotevilla. Not only were they short-handed, but they were faced with a shortage of food that was bound to last for nearly a year, until they had sown and harvested their first crops. 178 To make matters worse, their chiefs soon began to quarrel. Yokioma boldly insisted on continuing without abatement his program of resistance to Americans and Hopi Progressives, but Lomahongyoma argued that they ought to attempt a reconciliation with the Friendlies. At this juncture a new leader arose in the person of Kuwannimptiwa (Sand clan), whose wife Qömamönim (Spider) was Lomahongyoma's niece, and whose father Nawungni'ima (Katcina) had served as Katcina chief for the Hostiles. Kuwannimptiwa supported Lomahongyoma's stand against Yokioma, and at last they resolved to take advantage of Tawaqwaptiwa's enforced absence at school to try to return to their old homes in Oraibi. With a small party of moderate Conservatives they left Hotevilla late in the fall of 1906 and reoccupied their former residences. The Friendlies mocked and jeered them, but they did their best to lead normal lives in spite of the taunts of their neighbors.

When the news of Lomahongyoma's return reached Tawaqwaptiwa in California, he was greatly incensed and prepared to order him and his followers driven out at once. The government authorities intervened, however, on the grounds that Tawaqwaptiwa was temporarily out of office, and coerced him into signing a document offering peace to the returned Hostiles on

<sup>174</sup> These eight steps may be regarded as a general summary of events, but the chronological implications should not be given too much emphasis. Then too it should not be forgotten that many people joined one side or the other because they favored or resented the introduction of American elements of culture, rather than on account of kin, clan or ceremonial connections.

The comparative weights of various kinship ties should be compared with the ratings on p. 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>175</sup> Leupp, 1907, p. 85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>176</sup> The old judge was Qöyangainiwa (Badger), Village War chief, and the same man whose quarrel with a Katcina was described on p. 66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>177</sup> Leupp, 1907, p. 86.

<sup>178</sup> The day after the expulsion of the Hostiles, Tawa-qwaptiwa signed an agreement with Superintendent Lemmon to the effect that he would permit his opponents to remove their property and to harvest their crops. See "Statement and Agreement" in the Appendix. Leupp, 1907, pp. 88, 89, relates that the Hostiles were moderately comfortable at Hotevilla, but Nequatewa, 1936, p. 76, and other Conservative sympathizers, insist that Tawa-qwaptiwa deprived his opponents of their crops and failed to live up to his agreement.

For the later course of events at Hotevilla, see "The Rise of Hotevilla," in Part Three.

Table 8. Movements from Oraibi to Moenkopi and New Oraibi after 1906.

Phra-	<u> </u>	Мо	enkopi	New Oraibi			
try	Clan	Men	Women	Men	Women		
I	Rabbit Katcina Parrot	1 1 0	1 3 0	7 3 2	6 1 1		
II	Bear Spider	0	0	2 0	0		
III	Sand Snake Lizard	0 0 2	2 0 0	1 1 2	1 1 1		
IV	Sun Eagle	2 0	3	3	3		
v	Greasewood Bow Reed	7 1 1	1 0 0	4 2 0	0 0 1		
VI	Masau'u Real Coyote Water Coyote Kokop Le Cedar	2 5 2 0 0	7 2 4 0 0	6 2 1 0 0	8 3 0 0 0		
VII	Real Badger Gray Badger Navaho Badger Butterfly	2 0 0 0	1 0 0 0	4 1 0 0	2 0 6 1		
VIII	Pikyas Patki Siva'ap	3 1 0	5 1 0	1 4 2	0 5 0		
IX	Chicken Hawk Crane Squash	0 0 0	0 1 0	2 0 1	3 0 0		
	Totals	30	31	51	43		

179 This document is given as "Letter from Sherman Institute" in the Appendix. Tawaqwaptiwa maintains that he flatly refused to sign until threatened with the complete loss of his chieftainship. For the official version of the episode, reference may be made to Leupp, 1907, pp. 90, 91.

man who had hoped to be allowed to die peacefully in his native village. At no time does Lomahongyoma appear to have favored a split which might have caused him to leave

181 Crane, 1926, p. 87, writes "... but for the prompt assistance of the Government Agent, the whole lot... would have perished." Compare Nequatewa, 1936, pp. 75, 76. For the original composition of Bakavi's populace,

condition that Lomahongyoma "stay out of the Flute ceremony."179 Tawaqwaptiwa's capitulation had little effect at home, for his brother, Ben Fredericks, took the lead in hounding Longhongyoma's party and finally drove them out of Oraibi once more, in October, 1907. Again they turned north on Third Mesa, but this time they stopped at another place known for its springs. Bakavi, about a mile southeast of Hotevilla. Kuwannimptiwa now took charge, 180 and realizing how little chance his group had of surviving the coming winter without help, he shrewdly professed a great love of Americans and thus secured government aid in the construction of a small but well-built pueblo, of which he became the undisputed Village chief.181

Upon Tawaqwaptiwa's return to Oraibi about 1910 he exhibited a quality of character which served to irritate his people and to cause them to drift away from the pueblo. From all accounts he seems to have been quarrelsome, stubborn, vindictive, and unusually licentious.182 When some of the villagers began to adopt American ways and to entertain the notion of accepting Christianity, Tawagwaptiwa decided that such behavior was contrary to the teachings of his "uncles" and decreed that all converts must leave Oraibi.183 The result was a slow stream of emigrants moving to Kikötcmovi at the southern foot of Third Mesa. In due time the Christian Hopi were followed by others who favored increased Americanization without conversion, and by still others who sought only to escape from Tawaqwaptiwa and the atmosphere of incessant bickering that had come to mark life at Old Oraibi. By 1911 there were so many settlers at Kikötcmovi that it began to take on the appearance of an independent village and came to be known as New Oraibi (see table 8). The inhabitants of New Oraibi are the most

see "Clan and Ceremonial groups at Bakavi in 1907" in table 10; and for later developments consult "The Ceremonial Cycle at Bakavi" in Part Three.

188 Nequatewa, 1936, pp. 74, 75, reports that Tawaqwaptiwa molested the women who had returned from Hotevilla, but this is impossible as he was at Sherman Institute while they were at Oraibi. Nevertheless, by Tawaqwaptiwa's own admission, he was very "powerful" with the "ladies" in his younger days.

188 I could not determine just how this decree was made nor how it was enforced. It certainly did not originate in a piece of formal legislation, and its enforcement was probably never challenged in open defiance. Consult table 8, "Movements from Oraibi to Moenkopi and New Oraibi out of the capitulather, Bert and Lomaem out of gain they time they sisprings, Hotevilla, and realizably prothus setion of 2 became

> bi about which them to unts he vindicome of ys and tianity. br was nd de-<sup>№</sup> The ing to Mesa. ed by ization ought the atcome ere so 6 take e and le 8). most

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Americanized Hopi at Third Mesa, and because of the comparatively large number of Christians among them, the villagers have limited their ceremonial life to minor rituals such as Katcina dances and Buffalo or Butterfly dances.

Another population movement away from Old Orabi was in the direction of Moenkopi. To this accent farming colony came those villagers who preferred to live apart from Tawaqwaptiwa without severing their ties with the mother pueblo (rable 8). In secular matters the Moenkopi colonists are led by the Oraibi chief's "lieutenmy," Frank Siemptiwa (Pikyas). As for their nual life, they have built three kivas from which they stage Katcina dances and other minor rites, 184 but for major ceremonies such as the Soyal or the Powamu they come to Oraibi and participate in that village's ceremonial cycle.

Since 1906, when it lost half its inhabitants in one great exodus to Hotevilla, Oraibi's populanon has been steadily diminishing as a consequence of the drifts to Bakavi, New Oraibi, and Moenkopi. In November, 1933, a count of the populace showed that only 112 individuals, counting tiny babies, were still living in the village.185 Some of these were close relatives of Tawaqwaptiwa or his wife, a few had stayed on because of genuine loyalty to their traditional Village chief, and the rest had remained through sheer inertia. Until 1935 there was an attempt to maintain the Soval and a partial cycle of rites, but gradually more and more ceremonies were allowed to lapse. According to Tawaqwaptiwa, the time is quickly approaching when he will lose his entire following

184 The Moenkopi kivas are Kuwanovi, Istiya, and Kawaiovi.

and will remain alone at Oraibi with his ceremony (Soyal). All other rites, dances, and prayers will be given up, and there will come a great famine,

TABLE 9. POPULATION OF ORAIBI, 1933.

Phratry	- Clan	Male	Female	Total
I	Rabbit Parrot	5 7	8 12	13 19
II*	Bear	4	2	6
III	Sand	6	1	7
IV	Sun	4	7	11
v	Greasewood Bow Reed	6 1 0	8 0 1	14 1 1
VI	Masau'u Real Coyote	2 4	8	10 5
VII	Real Badger Gray Badger	2 3	0 4	2 7
VIII	Pikyas Patki	4	8 0	12 1
	Totals	49	60	109

\* A Carrying-strap woman and two children from Chimopovy were living at Oraibi in 1933. They belong in Phratry II, but are not included in the Bear figures.

after which the full ceremonial calendar will be revived. Such does Tawaqwaptiwa regard Old Oraibi's destiny to be, and complacently he awaits its fulfillment.

185 See table 9, "Population of Oraibi, 1933."

#### CHAPTER XV

### THE ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

VER SINCE the Hopi have been a pueblodwelling people, they have pursued an agricultural economy.1 The problem of land ownership has, therefore, been one of the principal concerns of their social organization. Theoretically, the entire domain of each town is owned by the Village chief, and all the inhabitants hold land only at his pleasure.2 According to a traditional account on Third Mesa, the entire Oraibi area was first entrusted by Masau'u to Matcito, the Bear clan chieftain who founded the pueblo; and it was Matcito who distributed farming plots to all the clans which joined his settlement. The contemporary pattern of ownership still reflects the traditional scheme. The Village chief is the theoretical owner of all his town's lands; these lands are divided among the clans residing in his pueblo (fig. 5); and each individual farms a specified portion of his clan's holdings.3 In addition, there is a large piece of unassigned land, part of which may be used by any villager with the chief's consent. Under such a system land is never bartered or sold, and only rarely exchanged. Ownership is restricted to the privilege of use, but this right is so carefully recognized that if a man decides to allow some of his fields to lie fallow, no other farmer may use them without the specific permission of the owner.4

The actual work of farming falls almost en-

<sup>1</sup> A brief summary of Hopi economic customs is given in Stephen, 1940, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Further details on this subject occur on pp. 61-63. See too Titiev, 1934, pp. 134-142. For comparative data on Second Mesa, consult Beaglehole, E., 1937, pp. 14-18; and for First Mesa, see Forde, 1931, pp. 366-383.

The extent of the Hopi reservation is estimated at about 2,500,000 acres.

<sup>3</sup> In theory, only the women of a clan could hold title to land, so that a man generally farmed on the property of his wife or mother; but in practice it was not unknown for a son to inherit land from his father.

The land holdings of each clan were generally supplemented by small, irrigated gardens, conveniently located on the slopes of mesas to take advantage of natural or imposed overflow from springs (pl. I). These were owned and attended by women who grew onions, chile peppers, and other vegetables that were regarded as delicacies.

Only the Masau'u and Kokop clans had orchards specifically assigned to their use, but other clans could grow fruit trees on any free soil that was suitable. Peach trees

tirely to the men. 5 An adolescent boy customarily begins to function in the economic sphere by working part of that portion of his clan's lands which his father cultivates. Then, at marriage, he begins to plant on his wife's land, particularly if it happens to be fertile. If it turns out to be poor soil, he may try to make an arrangement to continue farming with his father. This feature, coupled with the possibility that he may receive additional land as a reward for the performance of a ceremonial office,6 gives a man a fair range of available sites for the location of his fields; a great advantage in a region where rainfall is not only very light but often irregularly and unpredictably distributed, and where the quality of a piece of ground may change from fertile to barren within a few months.

Judging from the great extent of the Oraibi domain and the deliberate attempt of the villagers to limit the size of their crops to what is considered only a fair margin of safety,<sup>7</sup> it would seem at first glance that there was surely enough to provide each farmer with as much ground as he cared to cultivate, but the nature of the terrain and the quality of the soil are such that not all the Oraibi holdings are equally suitable for agriculture. Accordingly, quarrels over land are by no means unusual, for the clans occupying smaller or poorer locations frequently show marked resent-

were by far the most commonly grown. They were owned by women in terms of individual trees rather than by entire orchards. Peaches were unknown in pre-Spanish times.

4 Some informants stated that if unfenced lands were unused by their owners for several years, they fell into the status of free territory and could be used by anyone who received the Village chief's permission.

<sup>5</sup> According to Hopi convention, men are regarded as the owners of their crops throughout both the growing and harvesting stages. As soon as the yield has been brought into a household, however, it becomes the property of the women who own the land on which it was grown.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 62 and footnote 24.

<sup>7</sup> Because they lack an outlet for surplus production, the Hopi try never to grow more than they can consume in one year. Corn is the only product that is grown in excess of the annual need, and every household strives to keep at least an extra year's supply on hand to forestall a famine in the event of crop failure.

ment towards those which are more favorably situated.<sup>8</sup> Individual jealousies are likewise prevalent, and accusations of witchcraft are freely bandied about when rain fails to fall on a particular plot of ground or when a farm is eroded by the

activities of a deep-cutting stream.

The all-pervading concern of the Hopi with land problems can be fully appreciated only when one realizes how utterly dependent they are on the soil and how precarious such a dependence must always be in the face of an unfavorable environment. Not only is the presence of large deposits of alkali in itself a serious detriment to agriculture, "but when the extreme dryness of the air, the violence of the winds, the elevation of the region, and consequent cool nights, early frosts, and the heat of the sun are taken into consideration, it is a matter of surprise that plants exist at all."9 As if that were not bad enough, the rainfall is sporadic and uneven and "the curious thing about [it] ... is that the rains come too early and too late to be of much use to a large number of plants."10 Thus "June is the dryest month of the year. This is particularly unfortunate since the crops require water urgently during the early growing period."11

Luckily for the Hopi much of the soil is very fertile if it obtains sufficient moisture, and the natural topography of the region furnishes them with a supply of water to help counteract de-

ficiences of precipitation. Located

on the southern spurs of a large culminating plateau known as Black Mesa [the Hopi villages are so situated that thanks to a favorable] tilt of the general surface... they capture practically the entire surface drainage of the

plateau.

In addition to the surface drainage, there is also an important southward seepage of underground water, for the surface rock on the mesa top is moderately permeable Mesa Verde sandstone which dips generally southward. This is underlain by impermeable Mancos shales, so that the imprisoned water seeps southward along the plane of contact... and along this line are found a large number of springs and seeps.

These two circumstances, the southward drainage of the relatively well watered Black Mesa, and the develop-

<sup>8</sup> Some of Oraibi's deepest schisms have arisen, at least in part, from quarrels over land. See p. 75; and the account of "The Pikyas-Patki Conflict."

9 Hough, 1898, p. 134.

ment of a spring line along the southern edges and spursion of the mesa, are of the greatest importance in Hopi economy for the direct precipitation . . . is quite inade quate for agriculture. 12

Besides learning to take advantage of underground seepage, the Hopi, like most of the sedentary tribes in the Southwest, early developed the technique of flood-water farming which depends largely on the choice of planting sites in such places as are most likely to be flooded in the event of rain.

The areas utilized are variable in size and location, but each is chosen so that the local rainfall may be reinforced by the overflow of water derived from higher ground. The selection of a field involves an intimate knowledge of local conditions. The field must be flooded, but the sheet of water must not attain such velocity as to wash out the crop nor carry such a load of detritus as to bury the growing plants. Such conditions require a nice balance of forces that occur only under special conditions. Shrewd observation and good judgment are necessary in the selection of fields.

The sites chosen fall obviously into two main types: gentle slopes below rock or shale escarpments, valley floors inundated by sheet floods.<sup>13</sup>

In Professor Kirk Bryan's opinion, the Hopi were one of the tribes that practiced flood-water farming prior to the Spanish invasion, and it is interesting to see how the principles of this method of agriculture still operate. Through every large field, especially those devoted to raising corn, there runs the shallow, rather narrow bed of an ephemeral stream whose precious overflow is retained by judicious damming and artificial banking. This is a modern adaptation brought about by the accelerated erosion, which, as Dr. Bryan points out, has been going on since 1880 and has practically terminated flood-water farming in the main valleys. 15

Not only have the Hopi learned to take advantage of local conditions in the choice of farm plots, but they have also evolved a method of planting which is best suited to their environment. They use a dibble which makes only a small hole and causes far less dangerous surface disturbance than would a plow, and they plant deeply enough to

Hopi farming is found in Stewart, 1940, pp. 329-335.

The entire problem of the relationship of the Hopi to their physical environment has been thoroughly treated in

the recent publication by Hack, 1942.

15 In addition to the natural process of erosion, the Hopi are losing vast quantities of arable land annually throughout the denudation of the soil by livestock. As their herds have increased in modern times the problem of erosion control has become proportionately greater.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Hough, 1898, p. 135. <sup>11</sup> Forde, 1931, p. 361.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Forde, 1931, p. 360.

<sup>18</sup> Bryan, 1929, p. 445.

<sup>14</sup> An excellent treatment of this aspect of modern

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secure some of the benefits of underground seepage and to achieve the requisite strong rooting system.

A Hopi farmer clears his field towards the close of winter, usually in February, by trampling down or removing weeds and brush either by

series of small holes about a foot deep with his planting stick. The soil at the bottom of the hole is loosened to form a "bed" for the seed, and from "ten to twenty seeds are dropped in and covered with loose earth. Women occasionally help the men especially if planting is behindhand.

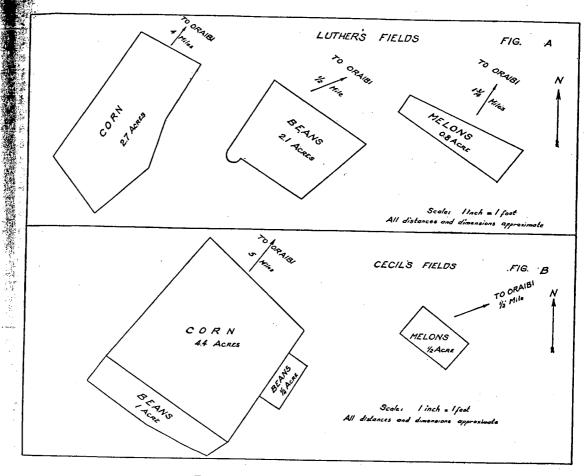


Fig. 10. FIELDS CULTIVATED BY TWO MEN.

hand, with a hoe, or in recent times, with a cultivator. Then the ground is broken up "by means of the wikya, a stick about three feet long with a broad, fairly sharp end, which was used with a motion like that imparted to a canoe paddle, the sharp edge tearing up the ground." The field is then considered ready for planting, and when the appropriate time comes, the owner digs a

<sup>16</sup> Further details of Hopi farming methods may be found in Beaglehole, E., 1937, pp. 36–42; and in Hack, 1942, pp. 19–38, et passim.

17 Curtis, 1922, p. 41.

They hold the bags of seed corn and drop seeds in the holes when ready. This deep planting assists in the development of the rooting system and protects the seedlings against washing out by heavy rains or flood."<sup>18</sup>

If the seed fails to sprout in about ten days, the hole may be re-seeded at the owner's discretion, but this rarely is done after the summer solstice.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Forde, 1931, p. 390 ff. The next few paragraphs are based on Forde and Curtis.

<sup>19</sup> Data on the seeds used by the Hopi may be found in Whiting, 1937.

The corn grows like a bush and is not hilled. It is cared for by weeding, loosening the soil at the base of the plants, and scooping earth around them so that they may the better retain water.

As a rule, the holes for a given year's planting are made between those of the previous year, and several fields are devoted to corn, so that in the event that one field fails to bear, whether through lack of moisture or for other causes, the others may yield a good crop. The habit of sowing corn on several scattered sites has been developed primarily owing to the nature of the rainfall, which may water the fields in one area, while those in another location go dry. This is not a scheme for rotating crops as the Hopi generally prefer to continue sowing the same product on a piece of land that has once been found suitable, and to abandon the spot only when changing conditions make it imperative. Sometimes rows of beans may be alternated with those of corn, but more often beans are grown by themselves in smaller plots. They are planted in holes about six inches deep, and eight or ten are deposited to a hole. They generally begin to sprout in a few days. Squashes, muskmelons, watermelons, and a few gourds are other staples which may be planted either in one field or separately. (See fig. 10 for sketches of the fields cultivated by two married men during 1933.)

The choice of planting dates at Oraibi was not left entirely to individual fancy, primarily because laymen were supposed to be ignorant of the calendrical system. Instead there were two religious officers who shared the duty of watching the sun's progress from season to season.<sup>20</sup> One of these, the Patki chief, was in charge throughout the duration of the planting season, and it was he who made public a sort of official time schedule for sowing various crops. Although farmers were by no means compelled to follow the exact sequence suggested by the Sun Watchers, most of

<sup>20</sup> This was done by observing certain fixed points on the horizon, behind which the sun seemed to rise in the course of its seasonal journey from one solstice point to the other. Twelve such points were touched by the rising sun during the planting period which ran from late in March to nearly the end of June. These points and the crops supposed to be sown when each was reached are described in Titiev, 1938c, pp. 40–42.

21 Titiev, 1938c, p. 42.

<sup>23</sup> Voth, 1905b, pp. 12, 13.

them felt that "it was best for people to adhere to the schedule which their ancestors had worked out."<sup>21</sup>

In former times, while the clan system of land tenure was universally in vogue, it was customary for each group to plant and harvest as a unit, and such activities played an important part in fostering clan solidarities. For whenever the Hopi engage in any form of communal labor, a feeling of harmony is engendered and a holiday spirit prevails.<sup>22</sup> This is made manifest particularly in the accounts of communal planting and harvesting on behalf of the Village chief and other high officers. It is said that when Matcito had finished apportioning land among the various clans, the people were so grateful that they promised to perform all his work for him; and in consequence the chief was formerly relieved of all farming cares, wood was hauled to his house by the villagers, and garments were woven for all the members of his family. Any public-minded individual had the right to sponsor a work project on behalf of a chief. He generally selected a time when most people were not too busy with their own affairs, and he asked the Village Crier chief to make a public announcement of the date. In keeping with the belief that Masau'u, the god of death, was the original proprietor of the earth and one of the principal owners of all Hopi crops,<sup>23</sup> it was customary to have someone impersonate Masau'u whenever a communal planting party went into the fields.24

During the harvest season too an impersonation of Masau'u was included as part of the arrangements for joint enterprises. Indeed, at Oraibi this aspect seems to have assumed the proportions of a formal ceremony, and details of the performance were planned during the winter season, months ahead of the scheduled date.<sup>25</sup> The responsibility for such an event was undertaken by one of the village societies, such as the Lakon,<sup>26</sup> and was

<sup>25</sup> Arrangements for harvesting parties were generally made while several secret societies were conducting their winter rites. The Hopi believe that during these ceremonies the worshippers are in correspondence with the spirit world which is enjoying summer while the living are having winter (p. 174). This is an appropriate time, then, for making arrangements to have the god of death appear on earth when the seasons shall have been reversed.

<sup>26</sup> The Lakon is a women's ceremony, whose public dance comes in the fall during the harvest season. See p. 168. Informants at Oraibi failed to agree on the question of whether or not the sponsoring society had to be a women's group or any unit which gave its performance in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Beaglehole, E., 1937, pp. 27-32, provides comparative material from Second Mesa.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Compare Forde, 1931, pp. 396 ff.

designed to relieve either the society's own chief or one of the pueblo's officers of his harvesting duties. As soon as the decision had been reached. the head of the sponsoring group would tell the leader of the Masau'u clan that Masau'u was planning to help harvest the next season's crop. Thereupon the clan chief, realizing the proper significance of this phrase, would appoint one or two men from his own or a related clan in his phratry<sup>27</sup> to play the parts when the time came.

Three days before the Lakon dance, in the event that that society had assumed sponsorship of the occasion, the Masau'u impersonators would go into confinement at the Kokop clan house. where they would sleep or remain in concealment throughout the entire day, emerging at midnight to make gradually decreasing circuits of the village on four successive nights.28 During this time word spreads about that "Masau'u did not wake up today," so people know what is in store. Two days before the harvest date the men go on a hunt. during which they try to kill rabbits by tossing them high in the air or in some other way which will keep the blood within the carcass. This is important because the costumes of the Masau'u actors must be covered with fresh blood. All the rabbits killed in this hunt are brought to the Kokop house where they are kept until needed.

After breakfast on the morning following the Lakon dance, the Village Crier chief goes to the roof of the Kele (Chicken Hawk) clan house from which he announces that there is to be a general harvesting (sopkyau'ma) on behalf of whatever official has been picked for the honor. He then tells the populace to prepare to go into the fields, and at noon he again calls out to make sure that everything is in readiness. Everyone eats hurriedly and hastens out to the designated farm. The members of the Lakon society dress in their dance costumes and go as a unit, but all others

the fall. They did agree, however, that sponsorship was not entirely restricted to the Lakon society. Although the present description is based on Lakon responsibility for the event, the possibility of other groups taking charge must not be forgotten.

<sup>27</sup> In accordance with Hopi practice, all the clans in Phratry VI may claim Masau'u as one of their ancients, and any adult male from that phratry may have the right to enact the part of the god of death.

28 The fact that Masau'u sleeps by day and walks by night is part of his customary manner of doing things by opposites. Note too that his symbol is a design of concentric circles to represent his footsteps. See Stephen, 1940, pp. 203-204.

dress as they please and go in any order they like. As soon as all the people have left the village, the two Masau'u impersonators, accompanied by the head of the Masau'u clan, proceed to an ap-

propriate shrine where they get into costume while the harvesting is in progress. First, the entire body is rubbed thoroughly with ashes; then an old, shabby, woman's garment (manta) is put on in reverse fashion, so that the right shoulder is exposed instead of the left. One strip of yucca is bound round the ankles and wrists, and another about the waist as a belt into which there is tucked on the left side an ear of black corn, which is the special property of this deity. A rabbit skin hood is made to enclose the entire head, being drawn tightly and fastened under the chin with yucca strings. Over this is poured a liberal quantity of fresh rabbit blood. A round club, about half a foot long, covered with an inverted rabbit skin and doused in blood, completes the costume.29 Thus dressed, the two men run towards the field where the people are at work. One impersonator hides not far from the village while the other continues on until he is met by a horseman, usually of the Masau'u clan, 30 who is dispatched for the special purpose of giving him a ride. The meeting is arranged to take place out of sight of the workers, and Masau'u, jumping up behind his escort, covers himself with a blanket so that he may not be prematurely recognized.

These events are generally so timed that the actual work of harvesting is now ended, and the Lakon members are doing a dance for their colaborers. At its conclusion, the Crier chief calls out, thanking the society for its performance and ordering the men to load the corn in sacks and to begin carrying it into the pueblo. Just at this point the rider comes dashing towards the throng which, realizing his intent, begins to cry out even before Masau'u slips from the horse and, bran-

29 Note that the men are impersonating the real Masau'u and not the related Masau Katcina. Masau'u is not a masked impersonation and is an object of such great awe that only the phratry of which he is one of the wuya dares to be on close terms with him. However, at Walpi Masau'u was impersonated by Patki clansmen, and by a man who was either a Badger or a Snake clansman. See Parsons, 1936b, pp. 994, 1089, 1111, and 1112. The Patki men may have functioned as Masau'u impersonators by virtue of membership in the Kwan society which regards the god of death as a patron. Compare p. 137.

30 So great is the "power" of Masau'u that only those who acknowledge him for an ancient dare to come into contact even with his impersonators.

"victims" of each impersonator jump to their feet and, picking up the fallen deity, carry him by the legs and arms to the Hano kiva, where they place him on the ground. After a time, the Masau'us come back to life and again chase their former victims whose flight purposely takes them back to the plaza and then to the Kokop house. Here the costumed men pause outside, but the Masau'u actors are invited to come in by the Kokop chief who indulges with them in a ritual smoke. While this is in progress, the Kokop head woman prepares two plaques piled high with piki, cornmeal, and nakwakwosi; and when the smoking is finished, she gives one tray to each of the impersonators with prayers for good crops and long life. As the Masau'us emerge with their plaques, the dancers again shout at them, but the deities only wave their bundles with the conventional discharming motion, after which they proceed without further ado to a Masau'u shrine north of the village where they disrobe and deposit their offerings. Then they return to the Kokop house to be rewarded with a liberal feast of rabbit stew. For the next four days the Kokop people and the impersonators must observe a period of sex continence; and during this time, if the men who have taken the parts of Masau'u wish to smoke, they may do so only in the Kokop clan house. On the fifth day, all resume their normal lives.34

Thus did the Hopi, by the admixture of a little ceremonialism and the introduction of an element of entertainment, make their work parties into happy social activities rather than drab, prosaic affairs. No wonder it was not considered a hardship, in the old days, to relieve important officials of their farming duties.

Another joint enterprise that requires the cooperation of many people is the cleaning of a town's springs.<sup>35</sup> Although all the main springs of a pueblo belong to the Village chief in theory, they are freely used by the general public and their care is left entirely to the villagers. Such

<sup>24</sup> Another occasion when the *real* Masau'u is impersonated is in May of a year when novices are passing through their Tribal Initiation. Again there is a field party involved, this time for the purpose of picking the plant called *nevenkwivi*. The ritual is known as Nevenwehe, and is described on pp. 140, 141.

<sup>35</sup> The main springs at Oraibi are Lololoma's Spring and Lenva or Lenanva (Flute Spring). In addition to these, the inhabitants secure water from privately dug wells, or from natural cisterns (patni) on the rocky surface of the mesa. The latter are owned jointly by the women of a

cleaning and repairing as becomes necessary is carried out voluntarily on a communal basis.36 It is usually in the spring of the year that high winds sift so much sand into the springs that it becomes imperative to clear them out. As soon as someone decides to direct the task, he requests the Village chief for permission, prepares a number of prayerfeathers, and observes ritual tabus for four days. Then he asks the town's Crier chief to call out the news and to urge the people to assemble for the work. Sometimes a number of men may add a bit of informal ceremonialism to the event by impersonating disciplinary Katcinas and mockingly acting as hard taskmasters, but as a rule there is little need for anyone to exert much pressure on the workers.<sup>37</sup> A festive spirit prevails among the men, and a holiday atmosphere is provided by the unmarried girls of the pueblo who bring large quantities of somiviki and join the laborers in a picnic when they pause for lunch.38

In contrast to the spirit of the communal enterprises is the routine manner in which the everyday business of farming is conducted by the average man. There is very little personal ritual associated with actual labors in the field, although at one time it was customary for a man on first clearing a piece of ground to erect a slab of stone to serve as a shrine at which he might deposit prayersticks, nakwakwosi, or other sacred objects as prayers for fertility. Again, as Forde has pointed out, special offerings might be made at appropriate spots to keep off sandstorms or to prevent a wash from cutting too deeply;39 and during the Soyal performance in December every man was expected to place prayer-sticks in all his fields. No rites were performed at Oraibi when planting was first begun, but it is reported that on First Mesa the women would douse a farmer as he was leaving the pueblo to begin sowing his crops.40

At harvesting too there is little individual ritual except with regard to the sweet corn (tawak'tci) yield. This cereal generally matures in

clan, and inasmuch as the task of keeping them clean is a difficult one, their use is jealously guarded by the owners.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Compare Beaglehole, E., 1937, pp. 30, 31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> For an exception to the common rule, see p. 66. <sup>88</sup> On March 18, 1934, I took part in the cleaning of the horse pond at Old Oraibi. Despite the many schisms in the village, all the men worked cheerfully side by side and everyone seemed to enjoy the whole affair.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Forde, 1931, p. 396.

<sup>40</sup> Parsons, 1925, pp. 87, 91, 93.

early September, and it is customary for the Hopi to bake it in outdoor pit ovens situated near the field where it is grown. On these occasions each man makes up a small party consisting of his wife and two or three congenial companions; and together they camp out while the sweet corn is picked, baked, cooled, and husked. Just before the baking operation begins the farmer affixes prayer-offerings to four ears of corn which are ceremonially pushed into the pit. Then, as the remaining ears are being thrown into the heated oven, the women of the group perform a simple fertility rite by spewing water mixed with corn sprouts and tassels over the entire crop. 41

There is virtually no ceremonialism attendant on the gathering of all other varieties of corn. As soon as the yield is brought to a household, the women spread it on the roof top to dry. Then the surplus remaining from the preceding year is shelled, and huge quantities are ground into meal. Small groups of relatives and friends frequently grind as units, the women going from house to house and dining at each home where they have worked. The monotony of their labor is spiced with incidental conversation, songs, and gossip, <sup>42</sup> and all the workers smear their faces with blue cornmeal so that their diligence may be readily noted.

Harvest time is a period of feasting and general joy. It is marked by informal begging expeditions (suspala), got up as impromptu affairs by boys or girls. Youngsters of either sex go from house to house reciting a sing-song request for muskmelons or watermelons, and after making the rounds they retire to enjoy their booty. Older boys beg for piki or sweet cornmeal (tosi), and big girls seek rabbit meat. Everyone is good-natured about it, and the housewives generally yield generous amounts of food.

As Hough has indicated, "The Hopi are practically vegetarians. There is necessarily a scarcity of animal life in the desert. Sporadically wild game appears in their dietary in the shape of an occasional rabbit, prairie dog, or rat... Occasionally, a sheep or goat, meat bought of a Navaho, or a burro varies the menu of the Pueblo." At the same time it must not be sup-

<sup>41</sup> A full account of these proceedings, based on observations made in 1934, occurs in Titiev, 1938a.

<sup>42</sup> Parties were formerly arranged on Third Mesa at which boys sang while girls took turns grinding to the music. Stephen describes such a gathering as a "Musical Grinding Party" in Parsons, 1936b, pp. 153, 154. A mythological origin is ascribed to this custom, and at

posed that their vegetarianism is voluntarily self-imposed, for the Hopi, especially the women, are very fond of meat. In many of the myths great emphasis is laid on the ability of men as hunters; and when, in the Underworld, it was decided to separate the sexes because they were misbehaving, the women became very wretched and "regretted the lack of flesh food. . . 'Okiwa sikwi nawakina' ('Alas, we want meat') was their constant cry."<sup>44</sup> And when at last the people were re-united, the men showed their great pleasure by giving the women gowns, girdles, corn, "and plenty of the flesh of elk, deer, bear and antelope."<sup>45</sup>

In the ritual too a good deal of emphasis is laid on hunting. During the Powamu season when the So'yoko, bogey Katcinas, go the rounds threatening to carry off bad children, young boys are defended by their relatives who hold them up as skillful hunters and who finally ransom the little fellows with gifts of meat (p. 218). Again, at the culmination of the Soyal ceremony, hunting prayer-sticks are distributed to men and boys who hasten to deposit them at the Antelope shrine with prayers for success in the hunt (p. 144). From such evidence it appears likely that at one stage of their cultural development the Hopi were far more dependent on game as a food supply than they are at present.

Stephen has left us a description of an oldfashioned antelope hunt which seems to have closely resembled the Plains method of driving animals into the narrowing portion of a V-shaped enclosure;46 but in modern times the supply of antelopes has grown so small that they have become unimportant as a food source. Nowadays the rabbit is the only game to be found in the region, and the Hopi have a myth to show that a close relationship exists between the antelope, once a favorite animal with hunters, and the rabbit which has now taken its place. "Tihküyiwuqti is mother of the antelope, deer, mountain sheep and both kinds of rabbits. She gave birth to two antelopes, and the blood that issued from her during the birth she confined in a little puddle. . . Of this blood soaked sand, she made five little pellets and formed them into five rabbits and from these all rabbits are descended."47

Oraibi the "female" Katcinas called Palhik grind corn in time to music. See p. 125.

- 43 Hough, 1898, p. 141.
- 44 Stephen, 1929, p. 4. 45 Stephen, 1929, p. 4.
- 46 Parsons, 1936b, pp. 277-279.
- <sup>47</sup> Parsons, 1936b, p. 1006.